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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO
The REVOLUTION in 1688.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. VII.

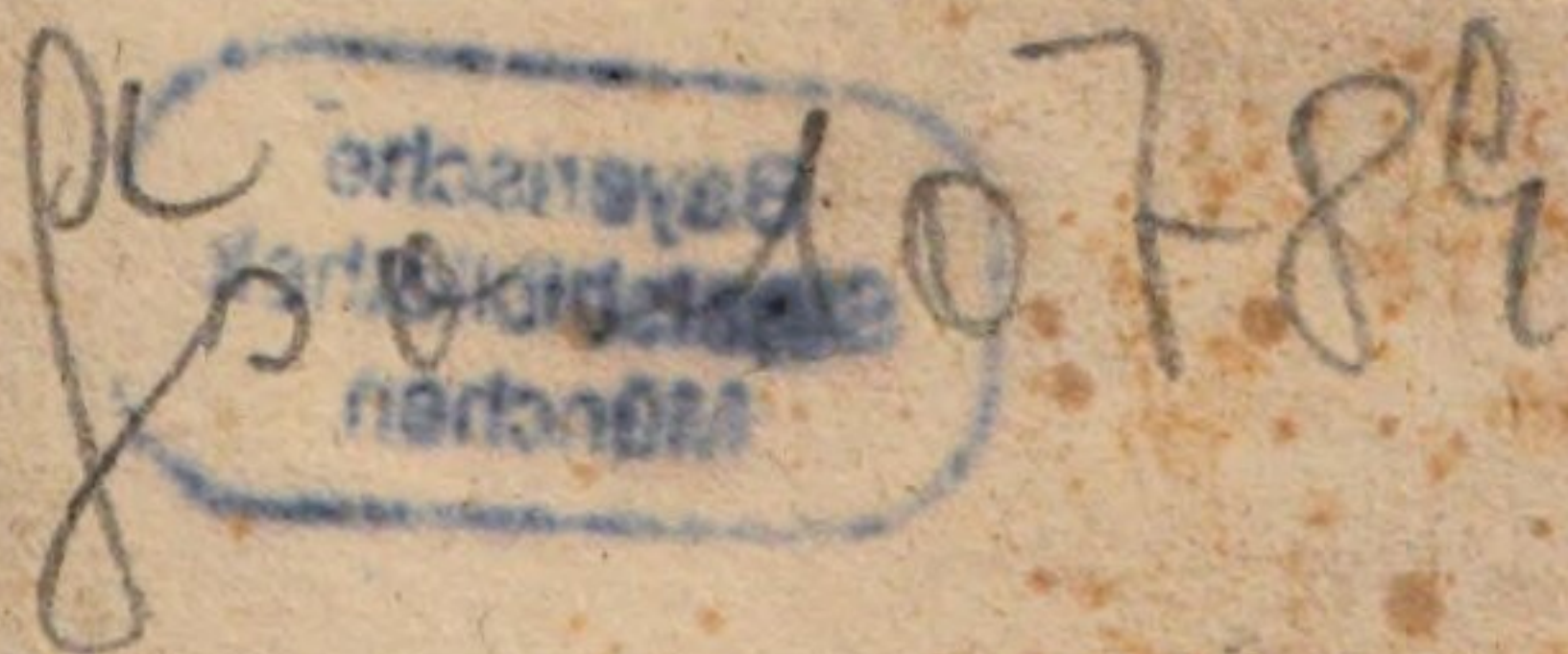
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OF all the European churches, which shook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with so much reason and moderation as the church of England; an advantage, which had been derived partly from the interposition of the civil magistrate in this innovation, partly from the gradual and slow steps, by which the reformation was

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1568. conducted in that kingdom. Rage and animosity against the catholic religion was as little indulged as could be supposed in such a revolution: The fabric of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire: The ancient liturgy was preserved, so far as was thought consistent with the new principles: Many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, were retained: The splendor of the Romish worship, though removed, had at least given place to order and decency: The distinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued: No innovation was admitted merely from spite and opposition to former usage: And the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient superstition, and rendering it more compatible with the peace and interests of society, had preserved itself in that happy medium, which wise men have always sought, and which the people have so seldom been able to maintain.

BUT though such in general was the spirit of the reformation in that country, many of the English reformers, being men of more warm complexions and more obstinate tempers, endeavoured to push matters to extremities against the church of Rome, and indulged themselves in the most violent contrariety and antipathy to all former practices. Among these, Hooper, who afterwards suffered for his religion with such extraordinary constancy, was chiefly distinguished. This man was appointed, during the reign of Edward, to the see of Gloucester, and made no

scruple of accepting the episcopal office; but he refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habit, the cymar and rochet, which had formerly, he said, been abused to superstition, and which were thereby rendered unbecoming a true christian. Cranmer and Ridley were surprised at this objection, which opposed the received practice, and even the established laws; and though young Edward, desirous of promoting a man so celebrated for his eloquence, his zeal and his morals, enjoined them to dispense with this ceremony, they were still determined to retain it. Hooper then embraced the resolution, rather to refuse the bishopric than clothe himself in those hated garments; but it was deemed requisite, that, for the sake of the example, he should not escape so easily. He was first confined to Cranmer's house, then thrown into prison, till he should consent to be a bishop on the terms proposed: He was plied with conferences, and reprimands, and arguments: Bucer and Peter Martyr, and the most celebrated foreign reformers were consulted on this important question: And a compromise, with great difficulty, was at last made, that Hooper should not be obliged to wear commonly the obnoxious robes, but should agree to be consecrated in them, and to use them during cathedral service¹: A condescension not a little extraordinary in a man of so inflexible a spirit as this reformer.

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¹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 152. Haylin, p. 90.

C H A P. THE same objection, which had arisen with
XL. regard to the episcopal habit, had been moved
1568. against the raiment of the inferior clergy; and
the surplice in particular, with the tippet and
corner cap, was a great object of abhorrence to
many of the popular zealots². In vain was it
urged, that particular habits, as well as postures
and ceremonies, having been constantly used by
the clergy, and employed in religious service,
acquire a veneration in the eyes of the people,
appear sacred in their apprehensions, excite their
devotion, and contract a kind of mysterious virtue,
which attaches the affections of men to the na-
tional and established worship: That in order to
produce this effect an uniformity in these particu-
lars is requisite, and even a perseverance, as far
as possible, in the former practice: And that the
nation would be happy, if, by retaining these
inoffensive observances, the reformers could en-
gage the people to renounce willingly what was
absurd or pernicious in the ancient superstition.
These arguments, which had influence with wise
men, were the very reasons, which engaged the
violent protestants to reject the habits. They
pushed matters to a total opposition with the
church of Rome: Every compliance, they said,
was a symbolizing with Antichrist³. And this
spirit was carried so far by some reformers, that,
in a national remonstrance, made afterwards by
the church of Scotland against these habits, it

² Strype, vol. i. p. 416. ³ Ibid.

was asked, "What has Christ Jesus to do with
 " Belial? What has darkness to do with light?
 " If surplices, corner caps, and tippets have been
 " badges of idolaters in the very act of their
 " idolatry; why should the preacher of Christian
 " liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition
 " partake with the dregs of the Romish beast?
 " Yea, who is there that ought not rather to
 " be afraid of taking in his hand or on his fore-
 " head the print and mark of that odious beast?"
 But this application was rejected by the English
 church.

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THERE was only one instance, in which the spirit of contradiction to the Romanists took place universally in England: The altar was removed from the wall, was placed in the middle of the church, and was thenceforth denominated the communion-table. The reason, why this innovation met with such general reception, was, that the nobility and gentry got thereby a pretence for making spoil of the plate, vestures, and rich ornaments which belonged to the altars^s.

THESE disputes, which had been started during the reign of Edward, were carried abroad by the protestants, who fled from the persecutions of Mary; and as the zeal of these men had received an increase from the furious cruelty of their enemies, they were generally inclined to carry their opposition to the utmost extremity

^a Keith, p. 555. Knox, p. 402.

^s Heylin, preface, p. 3. Hist. p. 106.

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C H A P. against the practices of the church of Rome. Their
 XL. communication with Calvin and the other reform-
 1568. ers, who followed the discipline and worship of
 Geneva, confirmed them in this obstinate reluct-
 ance; and though some of the refugees, par-
 ticularly those who were established at Frankfort,
 still adhered to king Edward's liturgy, the pre-
 vailing spirit carried these confessors to seek a
 still farther reformation. On the accession of
 Elizabeth, they returned to their native country;
 and being regarded with general veneration, on
 account of their zeal and past sufferings, they
 ventured to insist on the establishment of their
 projected model; nor did they want countenance
 from many considerable persons in the queen's
 council. But the princess herself, so far from being
 willing to despoil religion of the few ornaments
 and ceremonies which remained in it, was rather
 inclined to bring the public worship still nearer
 to the Romish ritual⁶; and she thought that the

⁶ *When Nowel, one of her chaplains, had spoken less
 reverently in a sermon, preached before her, of the sign of
 the cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window,
 commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression and
 to return unto his text. And on the other side, when one
 of her divines had preached a sermon in defence of the real
 presence, she openly gave him thanks for his pains and
 piety.* Haylin, p. 124. She would have absolutely forbidden
 the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil had not interposed. Stry-
 pe's Life of Parker, p. 107, 108, 109. She was an enemy to
 sermons; and usually said, that she thought two or three
 preachers were sufficient for a whole county. It was pro-
 bably for these reasons that one Doring told her to her face

reformation had already gone too far in shaking off those forms and observances, which, without distracting men of more refined apprehensions, tend, in a very innocent manner, to allure, and amuse, and engage the vulgar. She took care to have a law for uniformity strictly enacted: She was empowered by the parliament to add any new ceremonies, which she thought proper: And though she was sparing in the exercise of this prerogative, she continued rigid in exacting an observance of the established laws, and in punishing all nonconformity. The zealots, therefore, who harboured a secret antipathy to the episcopal order and to the whole liturgy, were obliged, in a great measure, to conceal these sentiments, which would have been regarded as highly audacious and criminal; and they confined their avowed objections to the surplice, the confirmation of children, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, kneeling at the sacrament, and bowing at the name of Jesus. So fruitless is it for sovereigns to watch with a rigid care over orthodoxy, and to employ the sword in religious controversy, that the work, perpetually renewed, is perpetually to begin; and a garb, a gesture, nay, a metaphysical or grammatical distinction, when rendered important by the disputes of theologians and the zeal of the

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from the pulpit, that she was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obstructed his discipline. See Life of Hooker, prefixed to his works.

C H A P. magistrate, is sufficient to destroy the unity of
 XL. the church and even the peace of society. These
 1568. controversies had already excited such ferment
 among the people, that in some places they re-
 fused to frequent the churches, where the habits
 and ceremonies were used; would not salute the
 conforming clergy; and proceeded so far as to
 revile them in the streets, to spit in their faces,
 and to use them with all manner of contumely⁷.
 And while the sovereign authority checked these
 excesses, the flame was confined, not extinguish-
 ed; and burning fiercer from confinement, it
 burst out in the succeeding reigns to the destruc-
 tion of the church and monarchy.

ALL enthusiasts, indulging themselves in rap-
 turous flights, extasies, visions, inspirations,
 have a natural aversion to episcopal authority, to
 ceremonies, rites, and forms, which they deno-
 minate superstition, or beggarly elements, and
 which seem to restrain the liberal effusions of their
 zeal and devotion: But there was another set of
 opinions adopted by these innovators, which
 rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of
 Elizabeth's aversion. The same bold and daring
 spirit, which accompanied them in their addresses
 to the divinity, appeared in their political specu-
 lations; and the principles of civil liberty, which,
 during some reigns, had been little avowed in
 the nation, and which were totally incompatible
 with the present exorbitant prerogative, had been

⁷ Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 460.

strongly adopted by this new sect. Scarcely any sovereign before Elizabeth, and none after her, carried higher, both in speculation and practice, the authority of the crown; and the puritans (so these sectaries were called, on account of their pretending to a superior purity of worship and discipline) could not recommend themselves worse to her favor, than by inculcating the doctrine of resisting or restraining princes. From all these motives, the queen neglected no opportunity of depressing those zealous innovators; and while they were secretly countenanced by some of her most favored ministers, Cecil, Leicester, Knolles, Bedford, Walsingham, she never was, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

WE have thought proper to insert in this place an account of the rise and the genius of the puritans; because Camden marks the present year, as the period when they began to make themselves considerable in England. We now return to our narration.

THE duke of Norfolk was the only peer, that enjoyed the highest title of nobility; and as there were at present no princes of the blood, the splendor of his family, the opulence of his fortune, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him without comparison the first subject in England. The qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station: Beneficent, affable, generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, obsequious, he possessed,

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Duke of
Norfolk's
conspiracy.

C H A P. XL. 1569. without giving her any jealousy, the good graces of his sovereign. His grandfather and father had long been regarded as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliance of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that party: But as he had been educated among the reformers, was sincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life, by which the protestants were at that time distinguished; he thereby enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular even with the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity alone was the source of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts, from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a distance.

NORFOLK was at this time a widower; and being of a suitable age, his marriage with the queen of Scots had appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends and those of that princess: But the first person, who, after secretary Lethington, opened the scheme to the duke is said to have been the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland^s. That nobleman set before Norfolk both the advantage of composing the dissensions in Scotland by an alliance, which would be so generally acceptable, and the prospect of reaping the succession of England; and, in order to bind Norfolk's interest

^s Lesly, p. 36, 37.

the faster with Mary's, he proposed, that the duke's daughter should also espouse the young king of Scotland. The previously obtaining of Elizabeth's consent, was regarded, both by Murray and Norfolk, as a circumstance essential to the success of their project; and all terms being adjusted between them, Murray took care, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, to have the design communicated to the queen of Scots. This princess replied, that the vexations, which she had met with in her two last marriages, had made her more inclined to lead a single life; but she was determined to sacrifice her own inclinations to the public welfare: And therefore, as soon as she should be legally divorced from Bothwel, she would be determined by the opinion of her nobility and people in the choice of another husband⁹.

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It is probable, that Murray was not sincere in this proposal. He had two motives to engage him to dissimulation. He knew the danger, which he must run in his return through the north of England, from the power of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Mary's partisans in that country; and he dreaded an insurrection in Scotland from the duke of Chatelleraut, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, whom she had appointed her lieutenants during her absence. By these feigned appearances of friendship, he both engaged Norfolk to write in his favor to the

⁹ Lesly, p. 40. 41.

C H A P. northern noblemen ¹⁰; and he persuaded the queen
 XL. of Scots to give her lieutenants permission, and
 1569. even advice, to conclude a cessation of hostilities
 with the regent's party ¹¹.

THE duke of Norfolk, though he had agreed, that Elizabeth's consent should be previously obtained, before the completion of his marriage, had reason to apprehend, that he never should prevail with her voluntarily to make that concession. He knew her perpetual and unrelenting jealousy against her heir and rival; he was acquainted with her former reluctance to all proposals of marriage with the queen of Scots; he foresaw, that this princess's espousing a person of his power and character and interest, would give the greatest umbrage; and as it would then become necessary to reinstate her in possession of her throne on some tolerable terms, and even to endeavour the re-establishing of her character, he dreaded, lest Elizabeth, whose politics had now taken a different turn, would never agree to such indulgent and generous conditions. He therefore attempted previously to gain the consent and approbation of several of the most considerable nobility; and he was successful with the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Suffex ¹². Lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton cordially embraced the

¹⁰ State Trials, p. 76. 78. ¹¹ Lesly, p. 41.

¹² Lesly, p. 55. Camden, p. 419. Spotswood, p. 230.

propofal: Even the earl of Leicefter, Elizabeth's declared favorite, who had formerly entertained fome views of espoufing Mary, willingly refigned all his pretenfions, and feemed to enter zealoufly into Norfolk's interefts¹³. There were other motives, befides affection to the duke, which produced this general combination of the nobility.

SIR William Cecil, fecretary of ftate, was the moft vigilant, active, and prudent minifter ever known in England; and as he was governed by no views but the interefts of his fovereign, which he had inflexibly purfued, his authority over her became every day more predominant. Ever cool himfelf, and uninfluenced by prejudice or affection, he checked thofe fallies of paffion, and fometimes of caprice, to which ſhe was fubject; and if he failed of perfuading her in the firft movement, his perfeverance, and remonftrances, and arguments were fure at laft to recommend themfelves to her found difcernment. The more credit he gained with his miftrefs, the more was he expofed to the envy of her other counfellors; and as he had been fupposed to adopt the interefts of the houfe of Suffolk, whofe claim feemed to carry with it no danger to the prefent eftablifhment, his enemies, in oppofition to him, were naturally led to attach themfelves to the queen of Scots. Elizabeth ſaw, without uneafinefs, this emulation among her courtiers, which ferved to augment her own authority: And though ſhe fupported

C H A P.
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¹³ Haynes, p. 535.

C H A P. Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities,
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 1569. and dissipated every conspiracy against him, particularly one laid about this time for having him thrown into the Tower on some pretence or other¹⁴, she never gave him such unlimited confidence as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries.

NORFOLK, sensible of the difficulty, which he must meet with in controuling Cecil's counsels, especially where they concurred with the inclination, as well as interest of the queen, durst not open to her his intentions of marrying the queen of Scots; but proceeded still in the same course, of increasing his interest in the kingdom, and engaging more of the nobility to take part in his measures. A letter was written to Mary by Leicester, and signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms; particularly, that she should give sufficient surety to Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body, for the free enjoyment of the crown of England; that a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, should be made between their realms and subjects; that the protestant religion should be established by law in Scotland; and that she should grant an amnesty to her rebels in that kingdom¹⁵. When Mary returned a favorable answer to this application Norfolk employed him-

¹⁴ Camden, p. 417.

¹⁵ Lesly, p. 50. Camden, p. 420. Haynes, p. 535. 539.

self with new ardor in the execution of his project; and besides securing the interests of many of the considerable gentry and nobility who resided at court, he wrote letters to such as lived at their country-seats, and possessed the greatest authority in the several counties¹⁶. The kings of France and Spain, who interested themselves extremely in Mary's cause, were secretly consulted, and expressed their approbation of the measures¹⁷. And though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed as a previous condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong, that it should no longer be in her power to refuse it¹⁸.

It was impossible, that so extensive a conspiracy could entirely escape the queen's vigilance and that of Cecil. She dropped several intimations to the duke, by which he might learn, that she was acquainted with his designs; and she frequently warned him to beware on what pillow he reposed his head¹⁹: But he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions. Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was given her first by Leicester, then by Murray²⁰, who, if ever he was

¹⁶ Lesly, p. 62. ¹⁷ Ibid. p. 63. ¹⁸ State Trials, vol. i. p. 82. ¹⁹ Camden, p. 420. Spotswood, p. 231.

²⁰ Lesly, p. 71. It appears by Haynes, p. 521. 525. that Elizabeth had heard rumors of Norfolk's dealing with Murray; and charged the latter to inform her of the whole truth, which he accordingly did. See also the earl

C H A P. sincere in promoting Norfolk's marriage, which
 XL. is much to be doubted, had at least intended,
 1569. for his own safety and that of his party, that Elizabeth should, in reality as well as in appearance, be entire arbiter of the conditions, and should not have her consent extorted by any confederacy of her own subjects. This information gave great alarm to the court of England; and the more so, as those intrigues were attended with other circumstances, of which, it is probable, Elizabeth was not wholly ignorant.

AMONG the nobility and gentry, that seemed to enter into Norfolk's views, there were many, who were zealously attached to the catholic religion, who had no other design than that of restoring Mary to her liberty, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expence of a civil war, have placed her on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who possessed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and the former nobleman made offer to the queen of Scots, by Leonard Dacres, brother to lord Dacres, that he would free her from confinement, and convey her to Scotland or any other place, to which she should think proper to retire²¹. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, sons of the earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Rolstone, and other gentlemen, whose interest

of Murray's letter produced on Norfolk's trial.

²¹ Lesly, p. 76.

lay in the neighbourhood of the place where Mary resided, concurred in the same views; and required, that, in order to facilitate the execution of the scheme, a diversion should, in the mean time, be made from the side of Flanders²². Norfolk discouraged, and even in appearance suppressed, these conspiracies; both because his duty to Elizabeth would not allow him to think of effecting his purpose by rebellion, and because he foresaw, that, if the queen of Scots came into the possession of these men, they would rather chuse for her husband the king of Spain, or some foreign prince, who had power, as well as inclination, to re-establish the catholic religion²³.

WHEN men of honor and good principles, like the duke of Norfolk, engage in dangerous enterprizes, they are commonly so unfortunate as to be criminal by halves; and while they balance between the execution of their designs and their remorses, their fear of punishment and their hope of pardon, they render themselves an easy prey to their enemies. The duke, in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance; affirmed that his estate in England was more valuable than the revenue of a kingdom wasted by civil wars and factions; and declared, that, when he amused himself in his own tenniscourt at Norwich amidst his friends and vassals, he deemed himself at least a petty prince, and was

²² Lefly, p. 98.²³ Ibid. p. 77.

C H A P. fully satisfied with his condition²⁴. Finding;
 XL. that he did not convince her by these asseverations,
 1569. and that he was looked on with a jealous eye by
 the ministers, he retired to his country-seat without taking leave²⁵. He soon after repented of this measure, and set out on his return to court, with a view of using every expedient to regain the queen's good graces; but he was met at St. Albans by Fitz-Garret, lieutenant of the band of pensioners, by whom he was conveyed to Burnham, three miles from Windsor, where the court then resided²⁶. He was soon after committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil²⁷. Lesly, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots' ambassador, was examined and confronted with Norfolk before the council²⁸. The earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house: Arundel, Lumley and Throgmorton were taken into custody. The queen of Scots herself, was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more strictly prohibited; and viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, in the office of guarding her.

Insurrec-
 tions in the
 north.

A RUMOR had been diffused in the north of an intended rebellion; and the earl of Suffex, president of York, alarmed with the danger, sent for Northumberland and Westmoreland, in

²⁴ Camden, p. 420. ²⁵ Haynes p. 52.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 339.

²⁷ Camden, p. 421. Haynes, p. 540.

²⁸ Lesly, p. 80.

order to examine them ; but not finding any proof against them , he allowed them to depart. The report meanwhile gained ground daily ; and many appearances of its reality being discovered, orders were dispatched by Elizabeth to these two noblemen , to appear at court , and answer for their conduct²⁹. They had already proceeded so far in their criminal designs , that they dared not to trust themselves in her hands : They had prepared measures for a rebellion ; had communicated their design to Mary and her ministers³⁰ ; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva , governor of the Low Countries ; had obtained his promise of a reinforcement of troops , and of a supply of arms and ammunition ; and had prevailed on him to send over to London Chiapino Vitelli , one of his most famous captains , on pretence of adjusting some differences with the queen , but in reality with a view of putting him at the head of the northern rebels. The summons, sent to the two earls , precipitated the rising before they were fully prepared ; and Northumberland remained in suspense between opposite dangers , when he was informed , that some of his enemies were on the way with a commission to arrest him. He took horse instantly , and hastened to his associate Westmoreland , whom he found surrounded with his friends and vassals , and deli-

²⁹ Haynes , p. 552.

³⁰ Haynes , p. 595. Strype , vol. ii. append. p. 30. MS. in the Advocates' Library from Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9.

C H A P. XL. 1569. berating with regard to the measures, which he should follow in the present emergency. They determined to begin the insurrection without delay, and the great credit of these two noblemen, with that zeal for the catholic religion, which still prevailed in the neighbourhood, soon drew together multitudes of the common people. They published a manifesto, in which they declared, that they intended to attempt nothing against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance; and that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove evil counsellors, and to restore the duke of Norfolk and other faithful peers to their liberty and to the queen's favor³¹. The numbers of the malecontents amounted to four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected the concurrence of all the catholics in England³².

THE queen was not negligent in her own defence, and she had beforehand, from her prudent and wise conduct, acquired the general good will of her people, the best security of a sovereign; insomuch that even the catholics in most counties expressed an affection for her service³³; and the duke of Norfolk himself, though he had lost her favor, and lay in confinement, was not wanting, as far as his situation permitted, to promote the levies among his friends and retainers. Suffex

³¹ Cabala, p. 169. Strype, vol. i. p. 547.

³² Stowe, p. 663.

³³ Cabala, p. 170. Digges, p. 4.

attended by the earl of Rutland, the lords Hunfdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, marched againft the rebels at the head of feven thoufand men, and found them already advanced to the bifhopric of Durham, of which they had taken poffeffion. They retired before him to Hexham; and hearing that the earl of Warwic and lord Clinton were advancing againft them with a greater body, they found no other resource than to difperfe themfelves without ftriking a blow. The common people retired to their houfes. The leaders fled into Scotland. Northumberland was found skulking in that country, and was confined by Murray in the caftle of Lochleven. Westmoreland received fhelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots, partifans of Mary; and perfuaded them to make an inroad into England, with a view of exciting a quarrel between the two kingdoms. After they had committed great ravages, they retreated to their own country. This fudden and precipitate rebellion was followed foon after by another ftill more imprudent, raifed by Leonard Dacres. Lord Hunfdon, at the head of the garrifon of Berwic, was able, without any other affiftance, to quell thefe rebels. Great feverity was exercifed againft fuch as had taken part in thefe rash enterprifes. Sixty-fix petty conftables were hanged³⁴; and no lefs than eight hundred perfons are faid, on the whole, to have fuffered by the hands of the

C H A P.

XL.

1569.

³⁴ Camden, p. 423.

C H A P. executioner ³⁵. But the queen was so well pleased
 XL. with Norfolk's behaviour, that she released him
 1569. from the Tower: allowed him to live, though
 under some show of confinement, in his own
 house; and only exacted a promise from him not
 to proceed any farther in his negociations with the
 queen of Scots ³⁶.

ELIZABETH now found that the detention of
 Mary was attended with all the ill consequences,
 which she had foreseen, when she first embraced
 that measure. This latter princess, recovering,
 by means of her misfortunes and her own natural
 good sense, from that delirium, into which she
 seems to have been thrown during her attach-
 ment to Bothwel, had behaved with such modesty,
 and judgment, and even dignity, that every one,
 who approached her, was charmed with her
 demeanour; and her friends were enabled, on some
 plausible grounds, to deny the reality of all those
 crimes, which had been imputed to her ³⁷. Com-
 passion for her situation, and the necessity of pro-
 curing her liberty, proved an incitement among
 all her partisans to be active in promoting her
 cause; and as her deliverance from captivity, it
 was thought, could no wise be effected but by
 attempts dangerous to the established government,
 Elizabeth had reason to expect little tranquillity
 so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner

³⁵ Lessly, p. 82.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 98. Camden, p. 429. Haynes, p. 597.

³⁷ Lessly, p. 232. Haynes, p. 51. 548.

in her hands. But as this inconvenience had been preferred to the danger of allowing that princess to enjoy her liberty, and to seek relief in all the catholic courts of Europe, it behoved the queen to support the measure which she had adopted, and to guard, by every prudent expedient, against the mischiefs, to which it was exposed. She still flattered Mary with hopes of her protection, maintained an ambiguous conduct between that queen and her enemies in Scotland, negociated perpetually concerning the terms of her restoration, made constant professions of friendship to her; and by these artifices endeavoured both to prevent her from making any desperate efforts for her deliverance, and to satisfy the French and Spanish ambassadors, who never intermitted their solicitations, sometimes accompanied with menaces, in her behalf. This deceit was received with the same deceit by the queen of Scots: Professions of confidence were returned by professions equally insincere: And while an appearance of friendship was maintained on both sides, the animosity and jealousy, which had long prevailed between them, became every day more inveterate and incurable. These two princesses, in address, capacity, activity, and spirit, were nearly a match for each other; but unhappily, Mary, besides her present forlorn condition, was always inferior in personal conduct and discretion, as well as in power, to her illustrious rival.

ELIZABETH and Mary wrote at the same time

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1569.

letters to the regent. The queen of Scots desired, that her marriage with Bothwel might be examined, and a divorce be legally pronounced between them. The queen of England gave Murray the choice of three conditions; that Mary should be restored to her dignity on certain terms; that she should be associated with her son, and the administration remain in the regent's hands, till the young prince should come to years of discretion, or that she should be allowed to live at liberty as a private person in Scotland, and have an honorable settlement made in her favor³⁸. Murray summoned a convention of states, in order to deliberate on these proposals of the two queens. No answer was made by them to Mary's letter, on pretence that she had there employed the style of a sovereign addressing herself to her subjects; but in reality, because they saw that her request was calculated to prepare the way for a marriage with Norfolk, or some powerful prince, who could support her cause, and restore her to the throne. They replied to Elizabeth, that the two former conditions were so derogatory to the royal authority of their prince, that they could not so much as deliberate concerning them: The third alone could be the subject of treaty. It was evident, that Elizabeth, in proposing conditions so unequal in their importance, invited the Scots to a refusal of those which were most advantageous

³⁸ MSS. in the Advocates' Library. A. 329. p. 137. from Cott. Lib. catal. c. 1.

to Mary; and as it was difficult, if not impossible, to adjust all the terms of the third, so as to render it secure and eligible to all parties, it was concluded that she was not sincere in any of them ³⁹.

It is pretended, that Murray had entered into a private negociation with the queen, to get Mary delivered into his hands ⁴⁰; and as Elizabeth found the detention of her in England so dangerous; it is probable, that she would have been pleased, on any honorable or safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner who gave her so much inquietude ⁴¹. But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton. Murray was a person of considerable vigor, abilities, and constancy; but though he was not unsuccessful, during his regency, in composing the dissensions in Scotland, his talents shone out more eminently in the beginning than in the end of his life. His manners were rough and austere; and he possessed not that perfect integrity, which frequently accompanies, and can alone atone for, that unamiable character.

By the death of the regent, Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party assembled together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. The castle, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, seemed to favor her cause; and as many of the

C H A P.
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1570.

23 January.
Assassina-
tion of the
earl of Mura-
ray.

³⁹ Spotswood, p. 230. 231. Lesly, p. 71.

⁴⁰ Camden, p. 425. Lesly, p. 83.

⁴¹ See note [A] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. principal nobility had embraced that party, it
 XL. became probable, though the people were in
 15.0. general averse to her, that her authority might
 again acquire the ascendant. To check its pro-
 gress, Elizabeth dispatched Suffex, with an army,
 to the North, under color of chastising the ravages
 committed by the borderers. He entered Scotland,
 and laid waste the lands of the Kers and Scots,
 seized the castle of Hume, and committed hostilities
 on all Mary's partisans, who, he said, had
 offended his mistress, by harbouring the English
 rebels. Sir William Drury was afterwards sent
 with a body of troops, and he threw down the
 houses of the Hamiltons, who were engaged in
 the same faction. The English armies were after-
 wards recalled by agreement with the queen of
 Scots, who promised, in return, that no French
 troops should be introduced into Scotland, and
 that the English rebels should be delivered up to
 the queen by her partisans ⁴².

BUT though the queen, covering herself with
 the pretence of revenging her own quarrel, so far
 contributed to support the party of the young
 king of Scots, she was cautious not to declare
 openly against Mary; and she even sent a request,
 which was equivalent to a command, to the
 enemies of that princess not to elect, during some
 time, a regent in the place of Murray ⁴³. Lenox,
 the king's grandfather, was, therefore, chosen

⁴² Lesly p. 91.

⁴³ Spotswood, p. 240.

temporary governor, under the title of Lieutenant. Hearing afterwards that Mary's partisans, instead of delivering up Westmoreland, and the other fugitives, as they had promised, had allowed them to escape into Flanders; she permitted the king's party to give Lenox the title of regent⁴⁴, and she sent Randolph, as her resident, to maintain a correspondence with him. But notwithstanding this step, taken in favor of Mary's enemies, she never laid aside her ambiguous conduct, or quitted the appearance of amity to that princess. Being importuned by the bishop of Ross, and her other agents, as well as by foreign ambassadors, she twice procured a suspension of arms between the Scottish factions, and by that means stopped the hands of the regent, who was likely to obtain advantages over the opposite party⁴⁵. By these seeming contrarieties she kept alive the factions in Scotland, increased their mutual animosity, and rendered the whole country a scene of devastation and of misery⁴⁶. She had no intention to conquer the kingdom, and consequently no interest or design to instigate the parties against each other; but this consequence was an accidental effect of her cautious politics, by which she was engaged, as far as possible, to keep on good terms with the queen of Scots, and never to violate the appearances of friendship with her, at least those of neutrality⁴⁷.

C H A P.

XL.

1570.

⁴⁴ Spotswood, p. 241.⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 243. ⁴⁶ Crawford, p. 136.⁴⁷ See note [B] at the end of the volume.

CHAP.

XL.

1570.

THE better to amuse Mary with the prospect of an accommodation, Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay were sent to her with proposals from Elizabeth. The terms were somewhat rigorous such as a captive queen might expect from a jealous rival; and they thereby bore the greater appearance of sincerity on the part of the English court. It was required, that the queen of Scots, besides renouncing all title to the crown of England during the life-time of Elizabeth, should make a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, between the kingdoms; that she should marry no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, nor any other person without the consent of the states of Scotland; that compensation should be made for the late ravages committed in England; that justice should be executed on the murderers of king Henry; that the young prince should be sent into England, to be educated there; and that six hostages, all of them noblemen, should be delivered to the queen of England, with the castle of Hume, and some other fortrefs, for the security of performance⁴⁸. Such were the conditions upon which Elizabeth promised to contribute her endeavours towards the restoration of the deposed queen. The necessity of Mary's affairs obliged her to consent to them; and the kings of France and Spain, as well as the pope, when consulted by her, approved of her conduct; chiefly on account of the civil wars, by which

⁴⁸ Spotswood, p. 245. Lesly, p. 101.

all Europe was at that time agitated, and which incapacitated the catholic princes from giving her any assistance ⁴⁹.

C H A P.
XL.
1570.

ELIZABETH'S commissioners proposed also to Mary a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland; and after some reasoning on that head, it was agreed, that the queen should require Lenox, the regent, to send commissioners, in order to treat of conditions under her mediation. The partisans of Mary boasted, that all terms were fully settled with the court of England, and that the Scottish rebels would soon be constrained to submit to the authority of their sovereign: But Elizabeth took care that these rumors should meet with no credit, and that the king's party should not be discouraged, nor sink too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent, that all the queen of England's proposals, so far from being fixed and irrevocable, were to be discussed a-new in the conference; and desired him to send commissioners who should be constant in the king's cause, and cautious not to make concessions which might be prejudicial to their party ⁵⁰. Suffex also, in his letters, dropped hints to the same purpose; and Elizabeth herself said to the abbot of Dumfermling, whom Lenox had sent to the court of England, that she would not insist on Mary's restoration, provided the Scots could make the justice of their cause appear to her satisfaction; and that, even if their reasons

⁴⁹ Lesly, p. 109, &c.

⁵⁰ Spotswood, p. 245.

C H A P. should fall short of full conviction, she would
 XL. take effectual care to provide for their future
 security ⁵¹.

1571.
 1st March.

THE parliament of Scotland appointed the earl of Morton, and Sir James Macgill, together with the abbot of Dumfermling, to manage the treaty. These commissioners presented memorials, containing reasons for the deposition of their queen; and they seconded their arguments with examples drawn from the Scottish history, with the authority of laws, and with the sentiments of many famous divines. The lofty ideas, which Elizabeth had entertained of the absolute, indefeasible right of sovereigns, made her be shocked with these republican topics; and she told the Scottish commissioners, that she was no wise satisfied with their reasons for justifying the conduct of their countrymen; and that they might therefore, without attempting any apology, proceed to open the conditions, which they required for their security ⁵². They replied, that their commission did not empower them to treat of any terms, which might infringe the title and sovereignty of their young king; but they would gladly hear whatever proposals should be made them by her majesty. The conditions, recommended by the queen, were not disadvantageous to Mary; but as the commissioners still insisted, that they were not authorized to treat in any manner, concerning the restoration of that princess ⁵³, the conferences

⁵¹ Spotswood, p. 247, 248. ⁵² Ibid. p. 248, 249.

⁵³ Haynes, p. 623.

were necessarily at an end; and Elizabeth dismissed the Scottish commissioners with injunctions, that they should return, after having procured more ample powers from their parliament⁵⁴. The bishop of Ross openly complained to the English council, that they had abused his mistress by fair promises and professions; and Mary herself was no longer at a loss to judge of Elizabeth's insincerity. By reason of these disappointments, matters came still nearer to extremities between the two princesses; and the queen of Scots, finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty and security.

AN incident also happened about this time, which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter princess. Pope Pius V. who had succeeded Paul, after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate by gentle means the friendship of Elizabeth, whom his predecessor's violence had irritated, issued at last a bull of excommunication against her, deprived her of all title to the crown, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance⁵⁵. It seems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended by that means to forward the northern rebellion; a measure which

⁵⁴ Spotswood, p. 249, 250, &c. Lesly, p. 133. 136. Camden, p. 431, 432. ⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 427.

C H A P. XL. 1571. was at that time in agitation ⁵⁶. John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the bishop of London's palace ; and scorning either to fly or to deny the fact, he was seized, and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he seems to have entertained so violent an ambition ⁵⁷.

2d April.
A parliament.

A NEW parliament, after five years' interval, was assembled at Westminster ; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope against her, was become still more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, both from this incident and from her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houses would be absolutely uncontrollable. It was so in fact ; yet is it remarkable, that it prevailed not without some small opposition ; and that too arising chiefly from the height of zeal for protestantism ; a disposition of the English, which, in general, contributed extremely to increase the queen's popularity. We shall be somewhat particular in relating the transactions of this session, because they show, as well the extent of the royal power during that age, as the character of Elizabeth and the genius of her government. It will be curious also to observe the faint dawn of the spirit of liberty among the English, the jealousy with which that spirit was repressed by the sovereign, the imperious conduct which was maintained in oppo-

⁵⁶ Camden, p. 441. from Cajetanus's life of Pius V.

⁵⁷ Camden, p. 428.

sition to it, and the ease with which it was subdued by this arbitrary princess.

C H A P.
XL.

1571.

THE lord keeper, Bacon, after the speaker of the commons was elected, told the parliament, in the queen's name, that she enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of state⁵⁸: Such was his expression; by which he probably meant, the questions of the queen's marriage and the succession, about which they had before given her some uneasiness: For as to the other great points of government, alliances, peace and war, or foreign negociations; no parliament in that age ever presumed to take them under consideration, or question, in these particulars, the conduct of their sovereign, or of his ministers.

IN the former parliament, the puritans had introduced seven bills for a farther reformation in religion; but they had not been able to prevail in any one of them⁵⁹. This house of commons had sitten a very few days, when Stricland, a member, revived one of the bills, that for the amendment of the liturgy⁶⁰. The chief objection, which he mentioned, was the sign of the cross in baptism. Another member added, the kneeling at the sacrament; and remarked, that, if a posture of humiliation were requisite in that act of devotion, it were better, that the communicants should throw themselves prostrate on the ground, in order to keep at the widest distance from former superstition⁶¹.

⁵⁸ D'Ewes, p. 141. ⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 185. ⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 156, 157. ⁶¹ Ibid. p. 167.

C H A P. XL. 1571. RELIGION was a point, of which Elizabeth was, if possible, still more jealous than of matters of state. She pretended, that, in quality of supreme head or governor of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions, which might arise with regard to doctrine, discipline, or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration⁶². The courtiers did not forget to insist on this topic: The treasurer of the household, though he allowed, that any heresy might be repressed by parliament (a concession which seems to have been rash and unguarded; since the act, investing the crown with the supremacy, or rather recognizing that prerogative, gave the sovereign full power to reform all heresies), yet he affirmed, that it belonged to the queen alone, as head of the church, to regulate every question of ceremony in worship⁶³. The comptroller seconded this argument; insisted on the extent of the queen's prerogative; and said that the house might, from former examples, have taken warning not to meddle with such matters. One Pistor opposed these remonstrances of the courtiers. He was scandalized, he said, that affairs of such infinite consequence (namely, kneeling and making the sign of the cross) should be passed over so lightly. These questions, he added, concern the salvation of souls, and interest every one more deeply than

⁶² D'Ewes, p. 158.⁶³ Ibid. p. 166.

the monarchy of the whole world. This cause he showed to be the cause of God; the rest were all but terrene, yea trifles in comparison, call them ever so great: Subsidies, crowns, kingdoms, he knew not what weight they had, when laid in the balance with subjects of such unspeakable importance⁶⁴. Though the zeal of this member seems to have been approved of, the house, overawed by the prerogative, voted upon the question, that a petition should be presented to her majesty, for her licence to proceed farther in this bill; and in the mean time, that they should stop all debate or reasoning concerning it⁶⁵.

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1571.

MATTERS would probably have rested here, had not the queen been so highly offended with Stricland's presumption, in moving the bill for reformation of the liturgy, that she summoned him before the council, and prohibited him thenceforth from appearing in the house of commons⁶⁶. This act of power was too violent even for the submissive parliament to endure. Carleton took notice of the matter; complained that the liberties of the house were invaded; observed that Stricland was not a private man, but represented a multitude; and moved, that he might be sent for, and, if he were guilty of any offence, might answer for it at the bar of the house, which he insinuated to be the only competent

⁶⁴ D'Ewes, p. 166. ⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 167. ⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 175.

H. A. P.
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1571.

tribunal⁶⁷. Yelverton enforced the principles of liberty with still greater boldness. He said, that the precedent was dangerous: And though in this happy time of lenity, among so many good and honorable personages as were at present invested with authority, nothing of extremity or injury was to be apprehended; yet the times might alter; what now is permitted, might hereafter be construed as duty, and might be enforced even on the ground of the present permission. He added, that all matters not treasonable, or which implied not *too much* derogation of the Imperial crown, might, without offence, be introduced into parliament; where every question that concerned the community must be considered, and where even the right of the crown itself must finally be determined. He remarked, that men sat not in that house in their private capacities, but as elected by their country: and though it was proper, that the prince should retain his prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by law: As the sovereign could not of himself make laws, neither could he break them, merely from his own authority⁶⁸.

THESE principles were popular, and noble, and generous; but the open assertion of them was, at this time, somewhat new in England: And the courtiers were more warranted by present practice, when they advanced a contrary doctrine. The treasurer warned the house to be

⁶⁷ D'Ewes, p. 175. ⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 175, 176.

cautious in their proceedings; neither to venture farther than their assured warrant might extend, nor hazard their good opinion with her majesty in any doubtful cause. The member, he said, whose attendance they required, was not restrained on account of any liberty of speech, but for his exhibiting a bill in the house against the prerogative of the queen; a temerity which was not to be tolerated. And he concluded with observing, that even speeches, made in that house, had been questioned and examined by the sovereign⁶². Cleere, an other member, remarked, that the sovereign's prerogative is not so much as disputable, and that the safety of the queen is the safety of the subject. He added, that, in questions of divinity, every man was for his instruction to repair to his ordinary; and he seems to insinuate, that the bishops themselves, for their instruction, must repair to the queen⁷⁰. Fleetwood observed, that, in his memory, he knew a man, who, in the fifth of the present queen, had been called to account for a speech in the house. But lest this example should be deemed too recent, he would inform them, from the parliament rolls, that, in the reign of Henry V. a bishop was committed to prison by the king's command, on account of his freedom of speech; and the parliament presumed not to go farther than to be humble suitors for him: In the subsequent reign the speaker himself was committed, with another

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XL.

1571.

⁶² D'Ewes, p. 175. ⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 175.

C H A P. member; and the house found no other remedy
 XL. than a like submissive application. He advised the
 1571. house to have recourse to the same expedient;
 and not to presume either to send for their
 member, or demand him as of right ⁷¹. During
 this speech, those members of the privy-council
 who sat in the house, whispered together; upon
 which the speaker moved, that the house should
 make stay of all farther proceedings: A motion,
 which was immediately complied with. The
 queen, finding that the experiment, which she
 had made, was likely to excite a great ferment,
 saved her honor by this silence of the house; and
 lest the question might be resumed, she sent next
 day to Stricland her permission to give his attend-
 ance in parliament ⁷².

NOTWITHSTANDING this rebuke from the
 throne, the zeal of the commons still engaged
 them to continue the discussion of those other
 bills which regarded religion; but they were
 interrupted by a still more arbitrary proceeding
 of the queen, in which the lords condescended
 to be her instruments. This house sent a message
 to the commons, desiring that a committee might
 attend them. Some members were appointed for
 that purpose; and the upper house informed
 them, that the queen's majesty, being informed
 of the articles of reformation which they had
 canvassed, approved of them, intended to publish
 them, and to make the bishops execute them,

⁷¹ D'Ewes, p. 176.

⁷² Ibid.

by virtue of her royal authority, as supreme head of the church of England: But that she would not permit them to be treated of in parliament ⁷³. The house, though they did not entirely stop proceedings on account of this injunction, seem to have been nowise offended at such haughty treatment; and in the issue all the bills came to nothing.

C H A P.

XL.

1571.

A MOTION, made by Robert Bell, a puritan, against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants in Bristol ⁷⁴, gave also occasion to several remarkable incidents. The queen, some days after the motion was made, sent orders by the mouth of the speaker, commanding the house to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches. All the members understood, that she had been offended, because a matter had been moved, which seemed to touch her prerogative ⁷⁵. Fleetwood accordingly spoke of this delicate subject. He observed, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to question the validity of any patent was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely subjected to the pleasure of the sovereign; that even the statute, which gave liberty of commerce, admitted of all prohibitions from the crown; and that the prince, when he granted an exclusive patent, only employed the power vested in him, and prohibited all others from

⁷³ D'Ewes, p. 180. 185. ⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 185. ⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 159.

C H A P. XL. 1571. dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book to prove, that no man might speak in parliament of the statute of wills, unless the king first gave licence: because the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He showed likewise the statutes of Edward I. Edward III. and Henry IV. with a saving of the prerogative. And in Edward VI.'s time, the protector was applied to, for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative ⁷⁶.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, the gallant and renowned sea-adventurer, carried these topics still farther. He endeavoured to prove the motion made by Bell to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; since it tended to the derogation of the prerogative Imperial, which whoever should attempt so much as in fancy, could not, he said, be otherwise accounted than an open enemy. For what difference is there between saying, that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and saying that she is not queen? And though experience has shown so much clemency in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make subjects forget their duty; it is not good to sport or venture too much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation, that all horned beasts should depart the court, immediately fled, lest his ears should be construed to be horns; and by this apologue he seems to

⁷⁶ D'Ewes, p. 160.

insinuate, that even those who heard or permitted such dangerous speeches, would not themselves be entirely free from danger. He desired them to beware, lest, if they meddled farther with these matters, the queen might look to her own power; and finding herself able to suppress their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Lewis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardship²².

C H A P.

XL.

1574.

THOUGH this speech gave some disgust, nobody, at the time, replied any thing, but that Sir Humphrey mistook the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion: They never had any other purpose, than to represent their grievances, in due and seemly form, unto her majesty. But in a subsequent debate Peter Wentworth, a man of a superior free spirit, called that speech an insult on the house; noted Sir Humphrey's disposition to flatter and fawn on the prince; compared him to theameleon, which can change itself into all colors, except white; and recommended to the house, a due care of liberty of speech, and of the privileges of parliament²³. It appears, on the whole, that the motion against the exclusive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who first introduced it, was sent for by the council, and was severely reprimanded for his temerity. He returned to the house with such an amazed countenance, that

²² D'Ewes, p. 168.

²³ Ibid. p. 175.

C H A P. all the members, well informed of the reason,
 XL. were struck with terror; and during some time,
 1571. no one durst rise to speak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were somewhat abated, the members spoke with extreme precaution; and by employing most of their discourse in preambles and apologies, they showed their conscious terror of the rod which hung over them. Wherever any delicate point was touched, though ever so gently; nay seemed to be approached, though at ever so great a distance, the whisper ran about the house, "The queen will be offended; the council will be extremely displeased:" And by these surmises men were warned of the danger, to which they exposed themselves. It is remarkable, that the patent, which the queen defended with such imperious violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects⁷⁹.

29th May.

THUS, every thing, which passed the two houses, was extremely respectful and submissive; yet did the queen think it incumbent on her, at the conclusion of the session, to check, and that with great severity, those feeble efforts of liberty, which had appeared in the motions and speeches of some members. The lord keeper told the commons, in her majesty's name, that, though

⁷⁹ D'Ewes, p. 242.

the majority of the lower house had shown C H A P.
 themselves in their proceedings, discreet and XL.
 dutiful yet a few of them had discovered a 1571.
 contrary character, and had justly merited the
 reproach of audacious, arrogant, and presump-
 tuous: Contrary to their duty, both as subjects
 and parliamentmen, nay contrary to the express
 injunctions given them from the throne at the
 beginning of the session; injunctions, which it
 might well become them to have better attended
 to; they had presumed to call in question her
 majesty's grants and prerogatives. But her majesty
 warns them, that, since they thus wilfully forget
 themselves, they are otherwise to be admonished:
 Some other species of correction must be found
 for them; since neither the commands of her
 majesty, nor the example of their wiser brethren,
 can reclaim their audacious, arrogant, and pre-
 sumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to
 meddle with what nowise belongs to them, and
 what lies beyond the compass of their under-
 standing⁸⁰.

IN all these transactions appears clearly the
 opinion, which Elizabeth had entertained of the
 duty and authority of parliaments. They were
 not to canvass any matters of state: Still less
 were they to meddle with the church. Questions
 of either kind were far above their reach, and
 were appropriated to the prince alone, or to
 those councils and ministers, with whom he was

⁸⁰ D'Ewes, p. 151.

CHAP. pleased to intrust them. What then was the
 XL. office of parliaments? They might give direc-
 1571. tions for the due tanning of leather, or milling
 of cloth; for the preservation of pheasants and
 partridges; for the reparation of bridges and
 highways; for the punishment of vagabonds or
 common beggars. Regulations concerning the
 police of the country came properly under their
 inspection; and the laws of this kind which they
 prescribed, had, if not a greater, yet a more
 durable authority, than those which were derived
 solely from the proclamations of the sovereign.
 Precedents or reports could fix a rule for decisions
 in private property, or the punishment of crimes;
 but no alteration or innovation in the municipal
 law could proceed from any other source than
 the parliament; nor would the courts of justice
 be induced to change their established practice by
 an order of council. But the most acceptable
 part of parliamentary proceedings was the granting
 of subsidies; the attainting and punishing of the
 obnoxious nobility, or any minister of state after
 his fall; the countenancing of such great efforts
 of power, as might be deemed somewhat excep-
 tionable, when they proceeded entirely from the
 sovereign. The redress of grievances was some-
 times promised to the people; but seldom could
 have place, while it was an established rule,
 that the prerogatives of the crown must not be
 abridged, or so much as questioned and examined
 in parliament. Even though monopolies and
 exclusive companies had already reached an enor-

mous height, and were every day increasing, to the destruction of all liberty, and extinction of all industry; it was criminal in a member to propose, in the most dutiful and regular manner, a parliamentary application against any of them.

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THESE maxims of government were not kept secret by Elizabeth, or smoothed over by any fair appearances or plausible pretences. They were openly avowed in her speeches and messages to parliament; and were accompanied with all the haughtiness, nay sometimes bitterness, of expression, which the meanest servant could look for from his offended master. Yet notwithstanding this conduct, Elizabeth continued to be the most popular sovereign that ever swayed the sceptre of England; because the maxims of her reign were conformable to the principles of the times, and to the opinion, generally entertained with regard to the constitution. The continued encroachments of popular assemblies on Elizabeth's successors have so changed our ideas in these matters, that the passages above mentioned appear to us extremely curious, and even at first surprising; but they were so little remarked, during the time, that neither Camden, though a contemporary writer, nor any other historian, has taken any notice of them. So absolute, indeed, was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved, by the puritans alone; and it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous and

C H A P. habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the
 XL. whole freedom of their constitution. Actuated by
 1571. that zeal which belongs to innovators, and by
 the courage which enthusiasm inspires, they
 hazarded the utmost indignation of their sove-
 reign; and employing all their industry to be
 elected into parliament; a matter not difficult,
 while a seat was rather regarded as a burthen
 than an advantage⁸¹; they first acquired a
 majority in that assembly, and then obtained an
 ascendant over the church and monarchy.

THE following were the principal laws enacted
 this session. It was declared treason, during the
 life-time of the queen, to affirm, that she was
 not the lawful sovereign, or that any other
 possessed a preferable title, or that she was a
 heretic, schismatic, or infidel, or that the laws
 and statutes cannot limit and determine the right
 of the crown and the successor thereof: To
 maintain in writing or printing, that any person,
 except the *natural issue* of her body, is or ought
 to be the queen's heir or successor, subjected the
 person and all his abettors, for the first offence,
 to imprisonment during a year, and to the forfeit-
 ure of half their goods: The second offence
 subjected them to the penalty of a premunire⁸².
 This law was plainly levelled against the queen

⁸¹ It appeared this session, that a bribe of four pounds
 had been given to a mayor for a seat in parliament. D'Ewes,
 p. 181. It is probable, that the member had no other view
 than the privilege of being free from arrests.

⁸² 13 Eliz. c. 1.

of Scots and her partisans; and implied an avowal, C H A P.
 that Elizabeth never intended to declare her XL.
 successor. It may be noted, that the usual phrase 1571.
 of *lawful issue*, which the parliament thought
 indecent towards the queen, as if she could be
 supposed to have any other, was changed into
 that of *natural issue*. But this alteration was the
 source of pleasantry during the time; and some
 suspected a deeper design, as if Leicester intended,
 in case of the queen's demise, to produce some
 bastard of his own, and affirm that he was her
 offspring⁸³.

It was also enacted, that whosoever by bulls
 should publish absolutions or other rescripts of
 the pope, or should, by means of them, reconcile
 any man to the church of Rome, such offenders,
 as well as those who were so reconciled, should
 be guilty of treason. The penalty of a premunire
 was imposed on every one who imported any
Agnus Dei, crucifix, or such other implement of
 superstition, consecrated by the pope⁸⁴. The
 former laws against usury, were enforced by a
 new statute⁸⁵. A supply of one subsidy and
 two fifteenths was granted by parliament. The
 queen, as she was determined to yield to them
 none of her power, was very cautious in asking
 them for any supply. She endeavoured, either
 by a rigid frugality to make her ordinary reve-
 nues suffice for the necessities of the crown, or
 she employed her prerogative, and procured

⁸³ Camden, p. 436.⁸⁴ 13 Eliz. c. 2.⁸⁵ Ibid. c. 8.

C H A P. money by the granting of patents, monopolies,
 XL. or by some such ruinous expedient.

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THOUGH Elizabeth possessed such uncontrouled authority over her parliaments, and such extensive influence over her people; though during a course of thirteen years, she had maintained the public tranquillity, which was only interrupted by the hasty and ill-concerted insurrection in the north; she was still kept in great anxiety, and felt her throne perpetually totter under her. The violent commotions, excited in France and the Low Countries, as well as in Scotland, seemed in one view to secure her against any disturbance; but they served, on more reflection, to instruct her in the danger of her situation, when she remarked, that England, no less than these neighbouring countries, contained the seeds of intestine discord; the differences of religious opinion, and the furious intolerance and animosity of the opposite sectaries.

Civil wars
 of France.

THE league, formed at Bayonne in 1566 for the extermination of the protestants, had not been concluded so secretly but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligni, and the other leaders of the hugonots; and finding, that the measures of the court agreed with their suspicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to strike a blow before the catholics were aware of the danger. The hugonots, though dispersed over the whole kingdom, formed a kind of separate empire; and being closely united, as well by their religious zeal,

as

as by the dangers to which they were perpetually exposed, they obeyed with entire submission the orders of their leaders, and were ready on every signal to fly to arms. The king and queen mother were living in great security at Monceaux in Brie; when they found themselves surrounded by protestant troops, which had secretly marched thither from all quarters; and had not a body of Swifs come-speedily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they must have fallen, without resistance, into the hands of the malecontents. A battle was afterwards fought in the plains of St. Denys; where, though the old constable Montmorency, the general of the catholics, was killed combating bravely at the head of his troops, the hugonots were finally defeated. Condé, collecting his broken forces, and receiving a strong reinforcement from the German protestants, appeared again in the field; and laying siege to Chartres, a place of great importance, obliged the court to agree to a new accommodation.

So great was the mutual animosity of those religionists, that even had the leaders on both sides been ever so sincere in their intentions for peace, and reposed ever so much confidence in each other, it would have been difficult to retain the people in tranquillity; much more, where such extreme jealousy prevailed, and where the court employed every pacification as a snare for their enemies. A plan was laid for seizing the person of the prince and admiral; who

C H A P. narrowly escaped to Rochelle, and summoned
 XL. their partisans to their assistance ⁸⁶. The civil
 1571. wars were renewed with greater fury than ever,
 and the parties became still more exasperated
 against each other. The young duke of Anjou,
 brother to the king, commanded the forces of
 the catholics; and fought in 1569 a great battle
 at Jarnac with the hugonots, where the prince
 of Condé was killed, and his army defeated.
 This discomfiture, with the loss of so great a
 leader, reduced not the hugonots to despair. The
 admiral still supported the cause; and having
 placed at the head of the protestants the prince
 of Navarre, then sixteen years of age, and the
 young prince of Condé, he encouraged the
 party rather to perish bravely in the field, than
 ignominiously by the hands of the executioner.
 He collected such numbers, so determined to
 endure every extremity, that he was enabled to
 make head against the duke of Anjou; and being
 strengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans,
 he obliged that prince to retreat and to divide
 his forces.

COLIGNI then laid siege to Poitiers; and as
 the eyes of all France were fixed on this enter-
 prise, the duke of Guise, emulous of the renown,
 which his father had acquired by the defence of
 Metz, threw himself into the place, and so
 animated the garrison by his valor and conduct,
 that the admiral was obliged to raise the siege.

⁸⁶ Davila, lib. 4.

Such was the commencement of that unrivalled fame and grandeur, afterwards attained by this duke of Guise. The attachment, which all the catholics had borne to his father, was immediately transferred to the son; and men pleased themselves in comparing all the great and shining qualities, which seemed, in a manner, hereditary in that family. Equal in affability, in munificence, in address, in eloquence, and in every quality, which engages the affections of men; equal also in valor, in conduct, in enterprise, in capacity; there seemed only this difference between them, that the son educated in more turbulent times, and finding a greater dissolution of all law and order, exceeded the father in ambition and temerity, and was engaged in enterprises still more destructive to the authority of his sovereign and to the repose of his native country.

ELIZABETH, who kept her attention fixed on the civil commotions of France, was nowise pleased with this new rise of her enemies, the Guises; and being anxious for the fate of the protestants, whose interests were connected with her own⁸⁷, she was engaged, notwithstanding her aversion from all rebellion, and from all opposition to the will of the sovereign, to give them secretly some assistance. Besides employing her authority with the German princes, she lent money to the queen of Navarre, and received some jewels as pledges for the loan. And she

⁸⁷ Haynes, p. 471.

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1571. permitted Henry Champernon to levy, and transport over into France, a regiment of a hundred gentlemen volunteers ; among whom Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to distinguish himself, in that great school of military valor⁸⁸. The admiral, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and by the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou the battle of Moncontour in Poictou, where he was wounded and defeated. The court of France, notwithstanding their frequent experience of the obstinacy of the hugonots, and the vigor of Coligni, vainly flattered themselves, that the force of the rebels was at last finally annihilated; and they neglected farther preparations against a foe, who, they thought, could never more become dangerous. They were surpris'd to hear, that this leader had appeared, without dismay, in another quarter of the kingdom; had encouraged the young princes, whom he governed, to like constancy; had assembled an army; had taken the field; and was even strong enough to threaten Paris. The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders of the kingdom, and wasted by so many fruitless military enterprises, could no longer bear the charge of a new armament; and the king, notwithstanding his extreme animosity against the hugonots, was obliged, in 1570, to conclude an accommodation with them, to

⁸⁸ Camden, p. 423.

grant them a pardon for all past offences, and to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience.

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THOUGH a pacification was seemingly concluded, the mind of Charles was nowise reconciled to his rebellious subjects; and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was nothing but a snare, by which the perfidious court had projected to destroy at once, without danger, all its formidable enemies. As the two young princes, the admiral, and the other leaders of the hugonots, instructed by past experience, discovered an extreme distrust of the king's intentions, and kept themselves in security, at a distance, all possible artifices were employed to remove their apprehensions, and convince them of the sincerity of the new counsels, which seemed to be embraced. The terms of the peace were religiously observed to them: the toleration was strictly maintained; all attempts, made by the zealous catholics to infringe it, were punished with severity; offices, and favors, and honors were bestowed on the principal nobility among the protestants; and the king and council every where declared, that, tired of civil disorders, and convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, they were thenceforth determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion.

AMONG the other artifices, employed to lull the protestants into a fatal security, Charles affected to enter into close connexions with Elizabeth; and as it seemed not the interest of

C H A P. XL. 1571. France to forward the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain, that princess the more easily flattered herself, that the French monarch would prefer her friendship to that of the queen of Scots. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and reputation for valor might naturally be supposed to recommend him to a woman, who had appeared not altogether insensible to these endowments. The queen immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France; and being intent on that artifice, she laid herself the more open to be deceived. Negotiations were entered into with regard to the marriage; terms of the contract were proposed; difficulties started and removed; and the two courts equally insincere, though not equally culpable seemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and concessions. The great obstacle, seemed to lie in adjusting the difference of religion, because Elizabeth, who recommended toleration to Charles, was determined not to grant it in her own dominions, not even to her husband; and the duke of Anjou seemed unwilling to submit, for the sake of interest, to the dishonor of an apostacy⁸⁹.

THE artificial politics of Elizabeth never triumphed so much in any contrivances as in those which were conjoined with her coquetry; and as her character in this particular was gener-

⁸⁹ Camden, p. 433. Davila, lib. 5. Digges's Complete Ambassador, p. 84. 110, 111.

ally known, the court of France thought, that they might, without danger of forming any final conclusion, venture the farther in their concessions and offers to her. The queen also had other motives for dissimulation. Besides the advantage of discouraging Mary's partisans by the prospect of an alliance between France and England, her situation with Philip demanded her utmost vigilance and attention; and the violent authority, established in the Low Countries, made her desirous of fortifying herself even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

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THE theological controversies, which had long agitated Europe, had, from the beginning, penetrated into the Low Countries; and as these provinces maintained an extensive commerce, they had early received from every kingdom, with which they corresponded, a tincture of religious innovation. An opinion at that time prevailed, which had been zealously propagated by priests, and implicitly received by sovereigns, that heresy was closely connected with rebellion, and that every great or violent alteration in the church involved a like revolution in the civil government. The forward zeal of the reformers would seldom allow them to wait the consent of the magistrate to their innovations: They became less dutiful when opposed and punished: And though their pretended spirit of reasoning and inquiry was in reality nothing but a new species of implicit faith, the prince took the alarm; as if no institutions could be secure from the temerity

Affairs of
the Low
Countries.

C H A P. of their researches. The emperor Charles, who
 XL. purposed to augment his authority under pretence
 1571. of defending the catholic faith, easily adopted
 these political principles; and notwithstanding
 the limited prerogative, which he possessed in
 the Netherlands, he published the most arbitrary,
 severe, and tyrannical edicts against the protest-
 ants; and he took care that the execution of
 them should be no less violent and sanguinary.
 He was neither cruel nor bigotted in his natural
 disposition; yet an historian, celebrated for mode-
 ration and caution, has computed, that, in the
 several persecutions promoted by that monarch,
 no less than a hundred thousand persons perished
 by the hands of the executioner ⁹⁰. But these
 severe remedies, far from answering the purposes
 intended, had rather served to augment the
 numbers as well as zeal of the reformers; and
 the magistrates of the several towns, seeing no
 end of those barbarous executions, felt their
 humanity rebel against their principles, and
 declined any farther persecution of the new doc-
 trines.

WHEN Philip succeeded to his father's domini-
 ons, the Flemings were justly alarmed with new
 apprehensions; lest their prince, observing the
 lenity of the magistrates, should take the execu-
 tion of the edicts from such remiss hands, and
 should establish the inquisition in the Low

⁹⁰ Grotii Annal. lib. 1. Father Paul an other great
 authority, computes in a passage above cited, that 50,000
 persons were put to death in the Low Countries alone.

Countries, accompanied with all the iniquities and barbarities which attended it in Spain. The severe and unrelenting character of the man, his professed attachment to Spanish manners, the inflexible bigotry of his principles; all these circumstances increased their terror: And when he departed the Netherlands, with a known intention never to return, the disgust of the inhabitants was extremely augmented, and their dread of those tyrannical orders, which their sovereign, surrounded with Spanish ministers, would issue from his cabinet at Madrid. He left the dutchess of Parma, governess of the Low Countries; and the plain good sense and good temper of that princess, had she been intrusted with the sole power, would have preserved the submission of those opulent provinces, which were lost from that refinement of treacherous and barbarous politics, on which Philip so highly valued himself. The Flemings found, that the name alone of regent remained with the dutchess; that Cardinal Granville entirely possessed the king's confidence; that attempts were every day made on their liberties; that a resolution was taken never more to assemble the states; that new bishoprics were arbitrarily erected, in order to enforce the execution of the persecuting edicts; and that, on the whole, they must expect to be reduced to the condition of a province under the Spanish monarchy. The discontents of the nobility gave countenance to the complaints of the gentry, which encouraged the mutiny of the

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populace; and all orders of men showed a strong disposition to revolt. Associations were formed, tumultuary petitions presented, names of distinction assumed, badges of party displayed; and the current of the people, impelled by religious zeal, and irritated by feeble resistance, rose to such a height, that, in several towns, particularly in Antwerp, they made an open invasion on the established worship, pillaged the churches and monasteries, broke the images, and committed the most unwarrantable disorders.

THE wiser part of the nobility, particularly the prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn, were alarmed at these excesses, to which their own discontents had at first given countenance; and seconding the wisdom of the governors, they suppressed the dangerous insurrections, punished the ringleaders, and reduced all the provinces to a state of order and submission. But Philip was not contented with the re-establishment of his ancient authority: He considered, that provinces, so remote from the seat of government, could not be ruled by a limited prerogative; and that a prince, who must entreat rather than command, would necessarily, when he resided not among the people, feel every day a diminution of his power and influence. He determined, therefore, to lay hold of the late popular disorders as a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Low Country provinces; and for ruling them thenceforth with a military and arbitrary authority.

IN the execution of this violent design, he employed a man, who was a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, had been educated amidst arms; and having attained a consummate knowledge in the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all government the severe discipline of a camp, and to conceive no measures between prince and subject, but those of rigid command and implicit obedience. This general, in 1568, conducted from Italy to the Low Countries a powerful body of veteran Spaniards; and his avowed animosity to the Flemings, with his known character, struck that whole people with terror and consternation. It belongs not to our subject to relate at length those violences, which Alva's natural barbarity, steeled by reflection, and aggravated by insolence, exercised on those flourishing provinces. It suffices to say, that all their privileges, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their great merits and past services, brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner: And notwithstanding the peaceable submission of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death.

ELIZABETH was equally displeased to see the progress of that scheme, laid for the extermina-

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1571. tion of the protestants, and to observe the erection of so great a military power, in a state situated in so near a neighbourhood. She gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. Foreseeing that the violent government of Alva could not long subsist without exciting some commotion, she ventured to commit an insult upon him, which she would have been cautious not to hazard against a more established authority. Some Genoese merchants had engaged, by contract with Philip, to transport into Flanders the sum of four hundred thousand crowns; and the vessels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the Channel by some privateers equipped by the French Hugonots, and had taken shelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ships pretended, that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding, upon inquiry, that it was the property of Genoese merchants, took possession of it as a loan; and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this resource in the time of his greatest necessity. Alva, in revenge, seized all the English merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into prison, and confiscated their effects. The queen retaliated by

a like violence on the Flemish and Spanish merchants; and gave all the English liberty to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip.

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THESE differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the merchants: But nothing could repair the loss, which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, imposed by his arbitrary will the most ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods: He also demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every sale; an absurd tyranny, which would not only have destroyed all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance: The duke had recourse to his usual expedient of the gibbet: And thus matters came still nearer the last extremities between the Flemings and the Spaniards⁹¹.

ALL the enemies of Elizabeth, in order to revenge themselves for her insults, had naturally recourse to one policy, the supporting of the cause and pretensions of the queen of Scots; and Alva, whose measures were ever violent, soon opened a secret intercourse with that princess. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had resided about fifteen years in London,

⁹¹ Bentivoglio, part i. lib. v. Camden p. 416.

C H A P. and who, while he conducted his commerce in
 XL. England, had managed all the correspondence of
 1571. the court of Rome with the catholic nobility
 and gentry⁹². He had been thrown into prison
 at the time when the duke of Norfolk's intrigues
 with Mary had been discovered; but either no
 proof was found against him, or the part which
 he had acted, was not very criminal; and he
 soon after recovered his liberty. This man,
 zealous for the catholic faith, had formed a
 scheme, in concert with the Spanish ambassador,
 for subverting the government, by a foreign
 invasion and a domestic insurrection; and when
 he communicated his project, by letter, to Mary,
 he found, that, as she was now fully convinced
 of Elizabeth's artifices, and despaired of ever
 recovering her authority, or even her liberty,
 by pacific measures, she willingly gave her
 concurrence. The great number of discontented
 catholics were the chief source of their hopes on
 the side of England; and they also observed,
 that the kingdom was, at that time, full of
 indigent gentry, chiefly younger brothers, who,
 having at present, by the late decay of the church,
 and the yet languishing state of commerce, no
 prospect of a livelihood suitable to their birth,
 were ready to throw themselves into any despe-
 rate enterprise⁹³. But in order to inspire life and
 courage into all these malecontents, it was requi-

⁹² Lessly, p. 123. State Trials, vol. i. p. 87.

⁹³ Lessly, p. 123.

fite, that some great nobleman should put himself at their head; and no one appeared to Rodolphi, and to the bishop of Ross, who entered into all these intrigues, so proper, both on account of his power and his popularity, as the duke of Norfolk.

THIS nobleman, when released from confinement in the Tower, had given his promise, that he would drop all intercourse with the queen of Scots⁹⁴; but finding that he had lost, and, as he feared, beyond recovery, the confidence and favor of Elizabeth, and being still, in some degree, restrained from his liberty, he was tempted, by impatience and despair, to violate his word, and to open a-new his correspondence with the captive princess⁹⁵. A promise of marriage was renewed between them; the duke engaged to enter into all her interests; and as his remorse gradually diminished in the course of these transactions, he was pushed to give his consent to enterprises still more criminal. Rodolphi's plan was, that the duke of Alva should, on some other pretence, assemble a great quantity of shipping in the Low Countries; should transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, into England; should land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; should thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen

⁹⁴ Haynes, p. 571.

⁹⁵ State Trials, vol. i. p. 102.

C H A P. to submit to whatever terms the conspirators
 XL. should please to impose upon her ⁹⁶. Norfolk
 1571. expressed his assent to this plan; and three letters,
 in consequence of it, were written in his name
 by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope,
 and a third to the king of Spain; but the duke,
 apprehensive of the danger, refused to sign
 them ⁹⁷. He only sent to the Spanish ambassador
 a servant and confidant, named Barker, as well
 to notify his concurrence in the plan, as to
 vouch for the authenticity of these letters; and
 Rodolphi, having obtained a letter of credence
 from the ambassador, proceeded on his journey
 to Brussels and to Rome. The duke of Alva and
 the pope embraced the scheme with alacrity:
 Rodolphi informed Norfolk of their intentions ⁹⁸:
 And every thing seemed to concur in forwarding
 the undertaking.

NORFOLK, notwithstanding these criminal
 enterprises, had never entirely forgotten his duty
 to his sovereign, his country, and his religion;
 and though he had laid the plan both of an
 invasion and an insurrection, he still flattered
 himself, that the innocence of his intentions
 would justify the violence of his measures, and
 that, as he aimed at nothing but the liberty of
 the queen of Scots, and the obtaining of Eliza-
 beth's consent to his marriage, he could not
 justly reproach himself as a rebel and a traitor ⁹⁹.

⁹⁶ Lesly, p. 155. State Trials, vol. i. p. 86, 87. ⁹⁷ Lesly,
 p. 159. 161. Camden, p. 432. ⁹⁸ State Trials, vol. i. p.
 93. ⁹⁹ Lesly, p. 158.

It is certain, however, that, considering the queen's vigor and spirit, the scheme, if successful, must finally have ended in dethroning her; and her authority was here exposed to the utmost danger.

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1570.

THE conspiracy hitherto had entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was from another attempt of Norfolk's, that they first obtained a hint, which, being diligently traced, led at last to a full discovery. Mary had intended to send a sum of money to lord Herries, and her partisans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to have it delivered to Bannister, a servant of his, at that time in the north, who was to find some expedient for conveying it to lord Herries¹⁰⁰. He intrusted the money to a servant who was not in the secret, and told him, that the bag contained a sum of money in silver, which he was to deliver to Bannister with a letter: But the servant, conjecturing from the weight and size of the bag, that it was full of gold, carried the letter to Burleigh; who immediately ordered Bannister, Barker, and Hicford, the duke's secretary, to be put under arrest, and to undergo a severe examination. Torture made them confess the whole truth; and as Hicford, though ordered to burn all papers, had carefully kept them concealed under the mats of the duke's

¹⁰⁰ Lesly, p. 169. State Trials, vol. i. p. 87. Camden, p. 434. Digges, p. 134. 137. 140. Strype, vol. ii. p. 82

C H A P. chamber, and under the tiles of the house, full
 XL. evidence now appeared against his master ¹⁰¹.
 Norfolk himself, who was entirely ignorant of
 the discoveries made by his servants, was brought
 before the council; and though exhorted to atone
 for his guilt by a full confession, he persisted in
 denying every crime, with which he was charged.
 The queen always declared, that, if he had
 given her this proof of his sincere repentance,
 she would have pardoned all his former offen-
 ces ¹⁰²; but finding him obstinate, she committed
 him to the Tower, and ordered him to be brought
 to his trial. The bishop of Ross had, on some
 suspicion, been committed to custody before the
 discovery of Norfolk's guilt; and every expedient
 was employed to make him reveal his share in
 the conspiracy. He at first insisted on his privi-
 lege; but he was told, that, as his mistress was
 no longer a sovereign, he would not be regarded
 as an ambassador, and that, even if that character
 were allowed, it did not warrant him in con-
 spiring against the sovereign at whose court he
 resided ¹⁰³. As he still refused to answer inter-
 rogatories, he was informed of the confession
 made by Norfolk's servants; after which he no
 longer scrupled to make a full discovery; and
 his evidence put the guilt of that nobleman beyond
 all question. A jury of twenty-five peers unani-
 mously passed sentence upon him. The trial was

1572.
 12th Jan.
 Trial of
 Norfolk.

¹⁰¹ Lesly, p. 173. ¹⁰² Ibid. p. 175
¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 189. Spotswood.

quite regular, even according to the strict rules observed at present in these matters; except that the witnesses gave not their evidence in court, and were not confronted with the prisoner: A laudable practice, which was not at that time observed in trials for high treason.

C H A P.

XL.

1572.

THE queen still hesitated concerning Norfolk's execution; whether that she was really moved by friendship and compassion towards a peer of that rank and merit, or that, affecting the praise of clemency, she only put on the appearance of these sentiments. Twice she signed a warrant for his execution, and twice revoked the fatal sentence¹⁰⁴; and though her ministers and counsellors pushed her to rigor, she still appeared irresolute and undetermined. After four months hesitation, a parliament was assembled; and the commons addressed her, in strong terms, for the execution of the duke; a sanction, which, when added to the greatness and certainty of his guilt, would, she thought, justify, in the eyes of all mankind, her severity against that nobleman. Norfolk died with calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence, by which he suffered¹⁰⁵. That we may relate together affairs of a similar nature, we shall mention, that the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to

His execu-
tion.
8th May.

2d June.

¹⁰⁴ Carte, p. 527. from Fenelon's Dispatches. Digges, p. 166. Strype, vol. ii. p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ Camden, p. 440. Strype, vol. ii. App. p. 23.

C H A P. the queen by the regent of Scotland, was also,
 XL. a few months after, brought to the scaffold for
 1572. his rebellion.

THE queen of Scots was either the occasion or the cause of all these disturbances; but as she was a sovereign princess, and might reasonably, from the harsh treatment which she had met with, think herself entitled to use any expedient for her relief, Elizabeth durst not, as yet, form any resolution of proceeding to extremities against her. She only sent lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Bromley, and Dr. Willson, to expostulate with her, and to demand satisfaction for all those parts of her conduct, which, from the beginning of her life, had given displeasure to Elizabeth: Her assuming the arms of England, refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, intending to marry Norfolk without the queen's consent, concurring in the northern rebellion¹⁰⁶, practising with Rodolphi to engage the king of Spain in an invasion of England¹⁰⁷, procuring the pope's bull of excommunication, and allowing her friends abroad to give her the title of queen of England. Mary justified herself from the several articles of the charge, either by denying the facts imputed to her, or by throwing the blame on others¹⁰⁸. But the queen was little satisfied with her apology; and the parliament was so enraged against her, that the commons made a direct

¹⁰⁶ Digges, p. 16. ¹⁰⁷ Strype, vol. ii. p. 51, 52.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 194. 208, 209. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 40. 51.

¹⁰⁸ Camden, p. 442.

application for her immediate trial and execution. C H A P.
 They employed some topics derived from practice, XL.
 and reason, and the laws of nations; but the chief 4572.
 stress was laid on passages and examples from the
 Old Testament ¹⁰⁹, which, if considered as a
 general rule of conduct (an intention which it is
 unreasonable to suppose), would lead to conse-
 quences destructive of all principles of humanity
 and morality. Matters were here carried farther
 than Elizabeth intended; and that princess, satis-
 fied with showing Mary the disposition of the
 nation, sent to the house her express commands
 not to deal any farther at present in the affair of
 the Scottish queen ¹¹⁰. Nothing could be a
 stronger proof, that the puritanical interest pre-
 vailed in the house, than the intemperate use of
 authorities derived from scripture, especially from
 the Old Testament; and the queen was so little
 a lover of that sect, that she was not likely to
 make any concession merely in deference to their
 solicitation. She showed, this session, her disap-
 probation of their schemes in another remarkable
 instance. The commons had passed two bills,
 for regulating ecclesiastical ceremonies; but she
 sent them a like imperious message with her former
 ones; and by the terror of her prerogative, she
 stopped all farther proceeding in those matters ¹¹¹.

BUT though Elizabeth would not carry matters

¹⁰⁹ D'Ewes, p. 207, 208, &c. ¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 219. 241.

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 213. 238.

CHAP. to such extremities against Mary, as were re-
 XL. commended by the parliament, she was alarmed
 1572. at the great interest and the restless spirit of that
 princess, as well as her close connexions with
 Spain; and she thought it necessary both to in-
 crease the rigor and strictness of her confinement,
 and to follow maxims, different from those which
 she had hitherto pursued, in her management of
 Scotland¹¹². That kingdom remained still in a
 state of anarchy. The castle of Edinburgh, com-
 manded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for
 Mary; and the lords of that party, encouraged
 by his countenance, had taken possession of the
 capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the
 regent. By a sudden and unexpected inroad,
 they seized that nobleman at Stirling; but finding
 that his friends, rallying from the castle, were
 likely to rescue him, they instantly put him to
 death. The earl of Marre was chosen regent in
 his room; and found the same difficulties in the
 government of that divided country. He was
 therefore glad to accept of the mediation, of-
 fered by the French and English ambassadors; and
 to conclude on equal terms a truce with the
 queen's party¹¹³. He was a man of a free and
 generous spirit; and scorned to submit to any
 dependence on England; and for this reason, Eli-
 zabeth, who had then formed intimate connexions
 with France, yielded with less reluctance to the
 solicitations of that court, still maintained the

Scotch af-
fairs.

¹¹² Digges, p. 152. ¹¹³ Spotswood, p. 263.

appearance of neutrality between the parties, and allowed matters to remain on a balance in Scotland¹¹⁴. But affairs soon after took a new turn: Marre died of melancholy, with which the distracted state of the country affected him: Morton was chosen regent; and as this nobleman had secretly taken all his measures with Elizabeth, who no longer relied on the friendship of the French court, she resolved to exert herself more effectually for the support of the party, which she had always favored. She sent Sir Henry Killegrew ambassador to Scotland, who found Mary's partisans so discouraged by the discovery and punishment of Norfolk's conspiracy, that they were glad to submit to the king's authority, and accept of an indemnity for all past offences¹¹⁵. The duke of Chatellerault and the earl of Huntley, with the most considerable of Mary's friends, laid down their arms on these conditions. The garrison alone of the castle of Edinburgh continued refractory. Kirkaldy's fortunes were desperate; and he flattered himself with the hopes of receiving assistance from the kings of France and Spain, who encouraged his obstinacy, in the view of being able, from that quarter, to give disturbance to England. Elizabeth was alarmed with the danger; she no more apprehended making an entire breach with the queen of Scots, who, she found, would not any longer be amused

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1572.

¹¹⁴ Digges, p. 156. 165. 169.

¹¹⁵ Spotswood, p. 268.

CHAP. by her artifices; she had an implicit reliance on
 XL. Morton; and she saw, that, by the submission
 1572. of all the considerable nobility, the pacification
 of Scotland would be an easy, as well as a most
 important undertaking. She ordered; therefore,
 Sir William Drury, governor of Berwic, to
 march with some troops and artillery to Edin-
 burgh, and to besiege the castle¹¹⁶. The garrison
 surrendered at discretion: Kirkaldy was delivered
 into the hands of his countrymen, by whom he
 was tried, condemned, and executed: Secretary
 Lethington, who had taken part with him, died
 soon after, a voluntary death, as is supposed;
 and Scotland, submitting entirely to the regent,
 gave not, during a long time, any farther in-
 quietude to Elizabeth.

French af-
fairs.

THE events, which happened in France, were
 not so agreeable to the queen's interests and incli-
 nations. The fallacious pacifications, which had
 been so often made with the hugonots, gave
 them reason to suspect the present intentions of
 the court; and after all the other leaders of that
 party were deceived into a dangerous credulity,
 the sagacious admiral still remained doubtful and
 uncertain. But his suspicions were at last over-
 come, partly by the profound dissimulation of
 Charles, partly by his own earnest desire to end
 the miseries of France, and return again to the
 performance of his duty towards his prince and
 country. He considered besides, that, as the

¹¹⁶ Camden, p. 449.

former violent conduct of the court had ever met with such fatal success, it was not unlikely, that a prince, who had newly come to years of discretion, and appeared not to be rivetted in any dangerous animosities or prejudices, would be induced to govern himself by more moderate maxims. And as Charles was young, was of a passionate hasty temper, and addicted to pleasure¹¹⁷, such deep perfidy seemed either remote from his character, or difficult and almost impossible to be so uniformly supported by him. Moved by these considerations, the admiral, the queen of Navarre, and all the hugonots began to repose themselves in full security, and gave credit to the treacherous caresses and professions of the French court. Elizabeth herself, notwithstanding her great experience and penetration, entertained not the least distrust of Charles's sincerity, and being pleased to find her enemies of the house of Guise removed from all authority, and to observe an animosity every day growing between the French and Spanish monarchs, she concluded a defensive league with the former¹¹⁸, and regarded this alliance as an invincible barrier to her throne. Walsingham, her ambassador, sent her over, by every courier, the most satisfactory accounts of the honor, and plain-dealing, and fidelity of that perfidious prince.

THE better to blind the jealous hugonots and draw their leaders into the snare prepared for

¹¹⁷ Digges, p. 8. 29.

¹¹⁸ Camden, p. 443.

C H A P.

XL.

1512.

11th April.

C H A P. XL
1572. them, Charles offered his sister, Margaret, in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral, with all the considerable nobility of the party, had come to Paris, in order to assist at the celebration of these nuptials, which, it was hoped, would finally, if not compose the differences, at least appease the bloody animosity of the two religions. The queen of Navarre was poisoned by orders from the court; the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin: Yet Charles, redoubling his dissimulation, was still able to retain the hugonots in their security: Till on the evening of St. Bartholomew, a few days after the marriage, the signal was given for a general massacre of those religionists, and the king himself in person led the way to these assassinations. The hatred, long entertained by the Parisians against the protestants, made them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition, age, and sex, suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The admiral, his son-in-law Taligni, Soubise, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin; men, who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered without resistance; the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than fatiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had saved the victims from farther insult, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. About five hundred

24th Aug.

Massacre of
Paris.

gentlemen and men of rank perished in this massacre; and near ten thousand of inferior condition¹¹⁹. Orders were instantly dispatched to all the provinces for a like general execution of the protestants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, had been proposed by the duke of Guise; but Charles, softened by the amiable manners of the king of Navarre, and hoping that these young princes might easily be converted to the catholic faith, determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by a seeming change of their religion.

CHARLES, in order to cover this barbarous perfidy, pretended, that a conspiracy of the hugonots to seize his person had been suddenly detected; and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fenelon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late transaction. That minister, a man of probity, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court, and even scrupled not to declare, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of Frenchman¹²⁰; yet he was obliged to obey his orders, and make use of the apology, which had been prescribed to him. He met with that reception from all

¹¹⁹ Davila, lib. v. ¹²⁰ Digges, p. 247.

C H A P. the courtiers, which, he knew, the conduct of.
 XL. his master had so well merited. Nothing could
 1572. be more awful and affecting than the solemnity
 of his audience. A melancholy sorrow sat on
 every face: Silence, as in the dead of night,
 reigned through all the chambers of the royal
 apartment: The courtiers and ladies, clad in deep
 mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed
 him to pass, without affording him one salute or
 favorable look; till he was admitted to the queen
 herself ¹²¹. That princess received him with a
 more easy, if not a more gracious countenance;
 and heard his apology, without discovering any
 visible symptoms of indignation. She then told
 him, that though, on the first rumor of this
 dreadful intelligence, she had been astonished,
 that so many brave men and loyal subjects, who
 rested secure on the faith of their sovereign,
 should have been suddenly butchered in so bar-
 barous a manner; she had hitherto suspended her
 judgment, till farther and more certain informa-
 tion should be brought her: That the account,
 which he had given, even if founded on no
 mistake or bad information, though it might
 alleviate, would by no means remove the blame
 of the king's counsellors, or justify the strange
 irregularity of their proceedings: That the same
 force, which, without resistance, had massacred
 so many defenceless men, could easily have se-
 cured their persons, and have reserved them for

¹²¹ Carte, vol. iii p. 522. from Fenelon's Dispatches.

a trial, and for punishment by a legal sentence, which would have distinguished the innocent from the guilty: That the admiral in particular, being dangerously wounded, and environed by the guards of the king, on whose protection he seemed entirely to rely, had no means of escape, and might surely, before his death, have been convicted of the crimes imputed to him: That it was more worthy of a sovereign to reserve in his own hands the sword of justice, than to commit it to bloody murderers, who, being the declared and mortal enemies of the persons accused, employed it without mercy and without distinction: That if these sentiments were just, even supposing the conspiracy of the protestants to be real; how much more so, if that crime was a calumny of their enemies, invented for their destruction? That if, upon inquiry, the innocence of these unhappy victims should afterwards appear, it was the king's duty to turn his vengeance on their defamers, who had thus cruelly abused his confidence, had murdered so many of his brave subjects, and had done what in them lay to cover him with everlasting dishonor: And that for her part, she should form her judgment of his intentions by his subsequent conduct; and in the mean time should act as desired by the ambassador, and rather pity than blame his master for the extremities, to which he had been carried ¹²².

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1572.

¹²² Digges, p. 247, 248.

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1572.

ELIZABETH was fully sensible of the dangerous situation, in which she now stood. In the massacre of Paris, she saw the result of that general conspiracy, formed for the extermination of the protestants; and she knew, that she herself, as the head and protectress of the new religion, was exposed to the utmost fury and resentment of the catholics. The violence and cruelty of the Spaniards in the Low Countries was another branch of the same conspiracy; and as Charles and Philip, two princes nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity, as well as in bigotry, had now laid aside their pretended quarrel, and had avowed the most entire friendship¹²³, she had reason, as soon as they had appeased their domestic commotions, to dread the effects of their united counsels. The duke of Guise also and his family, whom Charles, in order to deceive the admiral, had hitherto kept at a distance, had now acquired an open and entire ascendant in the court of France; and she was sensible, that these princes, from personal as well as political reasons, were her declared and implacable enemies. The queen of Scots, their near relation and close confederate, was the pretender to her throne; and though detained in custody, was actuated by a restless spirit, and besides her foreign allies, possessed numerous and zealous partisans in the heart of the kingdom. For these reasons, Elizabeth thought it more prudent not to reject all commerce with the French

¹²³ Digges, p. 268. 282.

monarch; but still to listen to the professions of friendship which he made her. She allowed even the negociations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother¹²⁴: Those with the duke of Anjou had already been broken off. She sent the earl of Worcester to assist in her name at the baptism of a young princess, born to Charles; but before she agreed to give him this last mark of condescension, she thought it becoming her dignity, to renew her expressions of blame and even of detestation against the cruelties, exercised on his protestant subjects¹²⁵. Meanwhile, she prepared herself for that attack, which seemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romanists: She fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity with her subjects, acted with vigor for the farther reduction of Scotland under obedience to the young king, and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself at these treacherous and sanguinary measures, so universally embraced by the catholics.

BUT though Elizabeth cautiously avoided coming to extremities with Charles, the greatest security, that she possessed against his violence, was derived from the difficulties, which the obstinate resistance of the hugonots still created to him. Such

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1572.

Fr ench af-
fairs.

¹²⁴ Digges passim. Camden, p. 447.

¹²⁵ Digges, p. 297, 298. Camden, p. 447.

C H A P. XL. 1573. of that sect as lived near the frontiers, immediately, on the first news of the massacres, fled into England, Germany, or Switzerland; where they excited the compassion and indignation of the protestants, and prepared themselves, with increased forces and redoubled zeal, to return into France, and avenge the treacherous slaughter of their brethren. Those who lived in the middle of the kingdom, took shelter in the nearest garrisons occupied by the hugonots; and finding, that they could repose no faith in capitulations, and expect no clemency, were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The sect, which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate, had now an army of eighteen thousand men on foot, and possessed in different parts of the kingdom above a hundred cities, castles, or fortresses¹²⁶; nor could that prince deem himself secure from the invasion threatened him by all the other protestants in Europe. The nobility and gentry of England were roused to such a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge: But Elizabeth, who was cautious in her measures, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by these dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects¹²⁷. The

¹²⁶ Digges, p. 343.¹²⁷ Ibid. p. 335. 341.

1574.

30th May.

German princes, less political or more secure from the resentment of France, forwarded the levies made by the protestants; and the young prince of Condé, having escaped from court, put himself at the head of these troops, and prepared to invade the kingdom. The duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the family of Montmorenci, and many considerable men even among the catholics, displeased, either on private or public account, with the measures of the court, favored the progress of the hugonots; and every thing relapsed into confusion. The king, instead of repenting his violent counsels, which had brought matters to such extremities, called aloud for new violences¹²⁸; nor could even the mortal distemper under which he labored, moderate the rage and animosity, by which he was actuated. He died without male issue, at the age of twenty-five years; a prince, whose character, containing that unusual mixture of dissimulation and ferocity, of quick resentment and unrelenting vengeance, executed the greatest mischiefs, and threatened still worse, both to his native country and to all Europe.

HENRY, duke of Anjou, who had, some time before, been elected king of Poland, no sooner heard of his brother's death, than he hastened to take possession of the throne of France; and found the kingdom, not only involved in the greatest present disorders, but exposed to infir-

¹²⁸ Davila, lib. v.

C H A P XL.
1575. mities , for which it was extremely difficult to provide any suitable remedy. The people were divided into two theological factions, furious from their zeal, and mutually enraged from the injuries which they had committed or suffered; and as all faith had been violated and moderation banished, it seemed impracticable to find any terms of composition between them. Each party had devoted itself to leaders, whose commands had more authority than the will of the sovereign; and even the catholics, to whom the king was attached, were entirely conducted by the counsels of Guise and his family. The religious connexions had, on both sides, superseded the civil; or rather (for men will always be guided by present interest) two empires being secretly formed in the kingdom, every individual was engaged by new views of interest to follow those leaders, to whom, during the course of past convulsions, he had been indebted for his honors and preferment.

HENRY, observing the low condition of the crown, had laid a scheme for restoring his own authority, by acting as umpire between the parties, by moderating their differences, and by reducing both to a dependence upon himself. He possessed all the talents of dissimulation requisite for the execution of this delicate plan; but being deficient in vigor, application, and sound judgment, instead of acquiring a superiority over both factions, he lost the confidence of both, and taught the partisans of each to adhere still

more closely to their particular leaders, whom they found more cordial and sincere in the cause which they espoused. The hugonots were strengthened by the accession of a German army under the prince of Condé and prince Casimir; but much more by the credit and personal virtues of the king of Navarre, who, having fled from court, had placed himself at the head of that formidable party. Henry, in prosecution of his plan, entered into a composition with them; and being desirous of preserving a balance between the sects, he granted them peace on the most advantageous conditions. This was the fifth general peace made with the hugonots; but though it was no more sincere on the part of the court than any of the former, it gave the highest disgust to the catholics; and afforded the duke of Guise the desired pretence of declaiming against the measures, and maxims, and conduct of the king.

THAT artful and bold leader took thence an occasion of reducing his party into a more formed and regular body; and he laid the first foundations of the famous LEAGUE, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the hugonots. Such was the unhappy condition of France, from the past severities and violent conduct of its princes, that toleration could no longer be admitted; and a concession for liberty of conscience, which would probably have appeased the reformers, excited the greatest resentment in the catholics,

C H A P.
XL.
1577.

Henry, in order to divert the force of the league from himself, and even to elude its efforts against the hugonots, declared himself the head of that seditious confederacy, and took the field as leader of the Romanists. But his dilatory and feeble measures betrayed his reluctance to the undertaking; and after some unsuccessful attempts, he concluded a new peace, which, though less favorable than the former to the protestants, gave no contentment to the catholics. Mutual diffidence still prevailed between the parties; the king's moderation was suspicious to both; each faction continued to fortify itself against that breach, which, they foresaw, must speedily ensue; theological controversy daily whetted the animosity of the sects; and every private injury became the ground of a public quarrel.

THE king, hoping, by his artifice and subtilty, to allure the nation into a love of pleasure and repose, was himself caught in the snare; and sinking into a dissolute indolence, wholly lost the esteem, and, in a great measure, the affections of his people. Instead of advancing such men of character and abilities, as were neuters between these dangerous factions, he gave all his confidence to young agreeable favorites, who, unable to prop his falling authority, leaned entirely upon it, and inflamed the general odium against his administration. The public burthens, increased by his profuse liberality, and felt more heavy on a disordered kingdom, became another ground of complaint; and the uncontrouled animosity of

parties, joined to the multiplicity of taxes, rendered peace more calamitous than any open state of foreign or even domestic hostility. The artifices of the king were too refined to succeed, and too frequent to be concealed; and the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the duke of Guise on one side, and that of the king of Navarre on the other, drew by degrees the generality of the nation to devote themselves without reserve to one or the other of those great leaders.

THE civil commotions of France were of too general importance to be overlooked by the other princes of Europe; and Elizabeth's foresight and vigilance, though somewhat restrained by her frugality, led her to take secretly some part in them. Besides employing on all occasions her good offices in favor of the hugonots, she had expended no inconsiderable sums in levying that army of Germans, which the prince of Condé and prince Casimir conducted into France¹²⁹; and notwithstanding her negotiations with the court, and her professions of amity, she always considered her own interests as connected with the prosperity of the French protestants and the depression of the house of Guise. Philip, on the other hand, had declared himself protector of the league; had entered into the closest correspondence with Guise; and had employed all his authority in supporting the credit of that factious leader. This sympathy of religion, which

¹²⁹ Camden, p. 452.

C H A P. of itself begat a connexion of interests, was one
XL. considerable inducement; but that monarch had
1579. also in view, the subduing of his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands; who, as they received great encouragement from the French protestants, would, he hoped, finally despair of success, after the entire suppression of their friends and confederates.

Civil wars
 of the Low
 Countries.

THE same political views, which engaged Elizabeth to support the hugonots, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquillity of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in these mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithstanding all temptations and all provocations, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch. The Spanish ambassador represented to her, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and preyed on his master's subjects, were received into the harbours of England, and were there allowed to dispose of their prizes; and by these remonstrances the queen found herself under a necessity of denying them all entrance into her dominions. But this measure proved in the issue extremely prejudicial to the interests of Philip. These desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to attempt the most perilous enterprises; and they made an assault on the Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, where they met with success; and after a short resistance,

became masters of the place ¹³⁰. The duke of C H A P.
Alva was alarmed at the danger; and stopping XL.
those bloody executions, which he was making 1579.
on the defenceless Flemings, he hastened with
his army to extinguish the flame, which, falling
on materials so well prepared for combustion,
seemed to menace a general conflagration. His
fears soon appeared to be well grounded. The
people in the neighbourhood of the Brille, enraged
by that complication of cruelty, oppression, in-
solence, usurpation, and persecution, under which
they and all their countrymen labored, flew to
arms; and in a few days almost the whole pro-
vince of Holland and that of Zealand had revolted
from the Spaniards, and had openly declared
against the tyranny of Alva. This event hap-
pened in the year 1572.

WILLIAM, prince of Orange, descended from
a sovereign family of great lustre and antiquity
in Germany, inheriting the possessions of a so-
vereign family in France, had fixed his residence
in the Low Countries; and on account of his
noble birth and immense riches, as well as of his
personal merit, was universally regarded as the
greatest subject, that lived in those provinces.
He had opposed, by all regular and dutiful means,
the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when
Alva conducted his army into the Netherlands,
and assumed the government, this prince, well
acquainted with the violent character of the man,

¹³⁰ Camden, p. 443.

C H A P. XL. 1579. and the tyrannical spirit of the court of Madrid, wisely fled from the danger which threatened him, and retired to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal, was condemned in absence, was declared a rebel, and his ample possessions in the Low Countries were confiscated. In revenge, he had levied an army of protestants in the empire, and had made some attempts to restore the Flemings to liberty; but was still repulsed with loss by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva, and by the great bravery as well as discipline of those veteran Spaniards who served under that general.

THE revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange had formerly commanded, and where he was much beloved, called him a-new from his retreat; and he added conduct, no less than spirit, to that obstinate resistance, which was here made to the Spanish dominion. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty, whose arms and policy have long made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. He inflamed the inhabitants by every motive, which religious zeal, resentment, or love of freedom could inspire. Though the present greatness of the Spanish monarchy might deprive them of all courage, he still flattered them with the concurrence of the other provinces, and with assistance from neighbouring states; and he exhorted them,

in defence of their religion, their liberties, their lives, to endure the utmost extremities of war. From this spirit proceeded the desperate defence of Harlem; a defence, which nothing but the most consuming famine could overcome, and which the Spaniards revenged by the execution of more than two thousand of the inhabitants ¹³¹. This extreme severity, instead of striking terror into the Hollanders, animated them by despair; and the vigorous resistance made at Alcmaer, where Alva was finally repulsed, showed them that their insolent enemies were not invincible. The duke finding at last the pernicious effects of his violent counsels, solicited to be recalled: Medina Celi, who was appointed his successor, refused to accept the government: Requesens, commendador of Castile, was sent from Italy to replace Alva; and this tyrant departed from the Netherlands in 1574; leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boasting in his turn, that, during the course of five years, he had delivered above eighteen thousand of these rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner ¹³².

REQUESENS, though a man of milder dispositions, could not appease the violent hatred, which the revolted Hollanders had conceived against the Spanish government; and the war continued as obstinate as ever. In the siege of Leyden, undertaken by the Spaniards, the Dutch opened the dikes and sluices, in order to drive

¹³¹ Bentivoglio, lib. 7.

¹³² Grotius, lib. 2.

C H A P. XL. 1579. them from the enterprize; and the very peasants were active in ruining their fields by an inundation, rather than fall again under the hated tyranny of Spain. But notwithstanding this repulse, the governor still pursued the war; and the contest seemed too unequal between so mighty a monarchy, and two small provinces, however fortified by nature, and however defended by the desperate resolution of the inhabitants. The prince of Orange, therefore, in 1575, was resolved to sue for foreign succour, and to make applications to one or other of his great neighbours, Henry or Elizabeth. The court of France was not exempt from the same spirit of tyranny and persecution which prevailed among the Spaniards; and that kingdom, torn by domestic dissensions, seemed not to enjoy, at present, either leisure or ability to pay regard to foreign interests. But England, long connected, both by commerce and alliance, with the Netherlands, and now more concerned in the fate of the revolted provinces by sympathy in religion, seemed naturally interested in their defence; and as Elizabeth had justly entertained great jealousy of Philip, and governed her kingdom in perfect tranquillity, hopes were entertained, that her policy, her ambition, or her generosity, would engage her to support them under their present calamities. They sent, therefore, a solemn embassy to London, consisting of St. Aldegonde, Douza, Nivelles, Buys, and Melsen; and after employing the most humble supplications to the queen, they offered

her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence.

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THERE were many strong motives which might impel Elizabeth to accept of so liberal an offer. She was apprized of the injuries which Philip had done her, by his intrigues with the malecontents in England and Ireland¹³³: She foresaw the danger, which she must incur from a total prevalence of the catholics in the Low Countries: And the maritime situation of those provinces, as well as their command over the great rivers, was an inviting circumstance to a nation like the English, who were beginning to cultivate commerce and naval power. But this princess, though magnanimous, had never entertained the ambition of making conquests, or gaining new acquisitions; and the whole purpose of her vigilant and active politics was to maintain, by the most frugal and cautious expedients, the tranquillity of her own dominions. An open war with the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting the dominion of these provinces; and after taking the inhabitants under her protection, she could never afterwards in honor abandon them, but, however desperate their defence might become, she must embrace it, even farther than her convenience or interests would permit. For these reasons, she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proffered her; but told the am-

¹³³ Digges, p. 73.

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¹³³ Digges, p. 73.

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bassadors, that, in return for the good-will which the prince of Orange and the States had shown her, she would endeavour to mediate an agreement for them, on the most reasonable terms that could be obtained¹³⁴. She sent accordingly Sir Henry Cobham to Philip; and represented to him, the danger which he would incur of losing entirely the Low Countries, if France could obtain the least interval from her intestine disorders, and find leisure to offer her protection to those mutinous and discontented provinces. Philip seemed to take this remonstrance in good part; but no accord ensued, and war in the Netherlands continued with the same rage and violence as before.

It was an accident that delivered the Hollanders from their present desperate situation. Requesens, the governor, dying suddenly, the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper authority to command them, broke into a furious mutiny; and threw every thing into confusion. They sacked and pillaged the cities of Maestricht and Antwerp, and executed great slaughter on the inhabitants: They threatened the other cities with a like fate: And all the provinces, excepting Luxembourg, united for mutual defence against their violence, and called in the prince of Orange and the Hollanders, as their protectors. A treaty, commonly called the Pacification of

¹³⁴ Camden, p. 453, 454.

Ghent, was formed by common agreement; and the removal of foreign troops, with the restoration of their ancient liberties, was the object which the provinces mutually stipulated to pursue. Don John of Austria, natural brother to Philip, being appointed governor, found, on his arrival at Luxembourg, that the States had so fortified themselves, and that the Spanish troops were so divided by their situation, that there was no possibility of resistance; and he agreed to the terms required of him. The Spaniards evacuated the country; and these provinces seemed at last to breathe a little from their calamities.

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BUT it was not easy to settle entire peace, while the thirst of revenge and dominion governed the king of Spain, and while the Flemings were so strongly agitated with resentment of past, and fear of future injuries. The ambition of Don John, who coveted this great theatre for his military talents, engaged him rather to inflame than appease the quarrel; and as he found the States determined to impose very strict limitations on his authority, he broke all articles, seized Namur, and procured the recal of the Spanish army from Italy. This prince, endowed with a lofty genius, and elated by the prosperous successes of his youth, had opened his mind to vast undertakings; and looking much beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, had projected to espouse the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the British kingdoms¹³⁵.

¹³⁵ Camden, p. 466. Grotius, lib. iii.

C H A P. Elizabeth was aware of his intentions; and seeing
XL. now, from the union of all the provinces, a fair
1579. prospect of their making a long and vigorous
defence against Spain, she no longer scrupled to
embrace the protection of their liberties, which
seemed so intimately connected with her own
safety. After sending them a sum of money,
about twenty thousand pounds, for the immediate
pay of their troops, she concluded a treaty with
them; in which she stipulated to assist them with
five thousand foot and a thousand horse, at the
charge of the Flemings; and to lend them a hun-
dred thousand pounds, on receiving the bonds of
some of the most considerable towns of the Ne-
therlands, for her repayment within the year.
It was farther agreed, that the commander of
the English army should be admitted into the
council of the States; and nothing be determined
concerning war or peace, without previously in-
forming the queen or him of it; that they should
enter into no league without her consent; that
if any discord arose among themselves, it should
be referred to her arbitration; and that, if any
prince, on any pretext, should attempt hostilities
against her, they should send to her assistance an
army equal to that which she had employed in
their defence. This alliance was signed on the
7th of January, 1578¹³⁶.

ONE considerable inducement to the queen for
entering into treaty with the States, was to pre-

¹³⁶ Camden, p. 466.

vent their throwing themselves into the arms of France; and she was desirous to make the king of Spain believe, that it was her sole motive. She represented to him, by her ambassador, Thomas Wilkes, that hitherto she had religiously acted the part of a good neighbour and ally; had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland, when offered her; had advised the prince of Orange to submit to the king; and had even accompanied her counsel with menaces, in case of his refusal. She persevered, she said, in the same friendly intentions; and, as a proof of it, would venture to interpose with her advice for the composition of the present differences: Let Don John, whom she could not but regard as her mortal enemy, be recalled; let some other prince more popular be substituted in his room; let the Spanish armies be withdrawn; let the Flemings be restored to their ancient liberties and privileges: And if, after these concessions, they were still obstinate not to return to their duty, she promised to join her arms with those of the king of Spain, and force them to compliance. Philip dissembled his resentment against the queen; and still continued to supply Don John with money and troops. That prince, though once repulsed at Rimenant, by the valor of the English under Norris, and though opposed, as well by the army of the States as by prince Casimir, who had conducted to the Low Countries a great body of Germans, paid by the queen, gained a great advantage over the Flemings at Gemblours; but was cut off in

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1579.

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 1579. the midst of his prosperity by poison, given him secretly, as was suspected, by orders from Philip, who dreaded his ambition. The prince of Parma succeeded to the command; who, uniting valor and clemency, negociation and military exploits, made great progress against the revolted Flemings, and advanced the progress of the Spaniards by his arts, as well as by his arms.

DURING these years, while Europe was almost every where in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity; owing chiefly to the prudence and vigor of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions, which she employed in all her measures. By supporting the zealous protestants in Scotland, she had twice given them the superiority over their antagonists, had closely connected their interests with her own, and had procured herself entire security from that quarter, whence the most dangerous invasions could be made upon her. She saw in France her enemies, the Guises, though extremely powerful, yet counterbalanced by the hugonots, her zealous partisans; and even hated by the king, who was jealous of their restless and exorbitant ambition. The bigotry of Philip gave her just ground of anxiety; but the same bigotry had happily excited the most obstinate opposition among his own subjects, and had created him enemies, whom his arms and policy were not likely soon to subdue. The queen of Scots, her antagonist and rival, and the pretender to her throne, was a prisoner in her hands; and by her impatience
 and

and high spirit had been engaged in practices, which afforded the queen a pretence for rendering her confinement more rigorous, and for cutting off her communication with her partisans in England.

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RELIGION was the capital point, on which depended all the political transactions of that age; and the queen's conduct in this particular, making allowance for the prevailing prejudices of the times, could scarcely be accused of severity or imprudence. She established no inquisition into men's bosoms: She imposed no oath of supremacy, except on those who received trust or emolument from the public: And though the exercise of every religion but the established was prohibited by statute, the violation of this law, by saying mass, and receiving the sacrament, in private houses, was, in many instances, connived at¹³⁷; while, on the other hand, the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, showed little reluctance against going to church, or frequenting the ordinary duties of public worship. The pope, sensible that this practice would by degrees reconcile all his partisans to the reformed religion, hastened the publication of the bull, which excommunicated the queen, and freed her subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and great pains were taken by the emissaries of Rome, to render the breach between the two religions as wide as possible, and to make the frequenting of pro-

¹³⁷ Camden, p. 459.

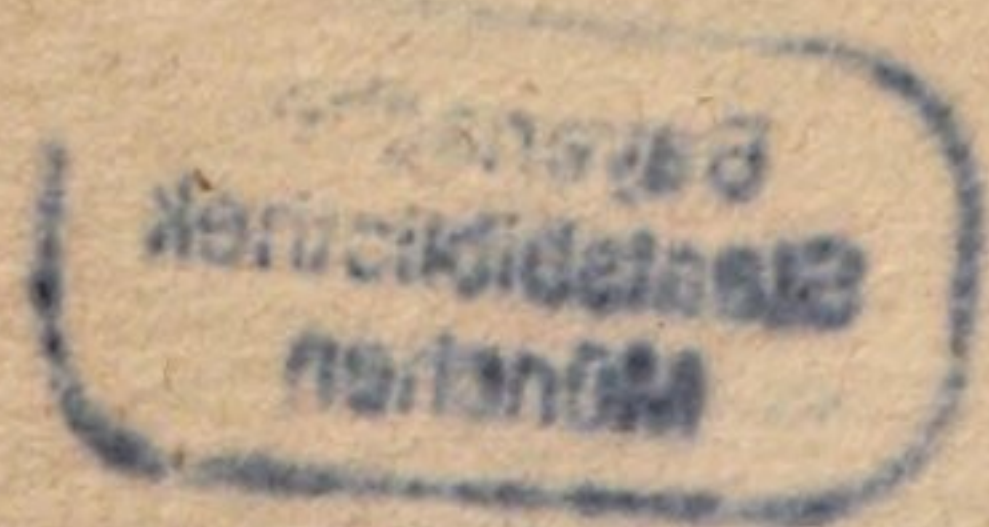
C. II. A. P. XL. 1579. testant churches appear highly criminal in the catholics ¹³⁸. These practices, with the rebellion, which ensued, increased the vigilance and severity of the government; but the Romanists, if their condition were compared with that of the Non-conformists in other countries, and with their own maxims where they domineered, could not justly complain of violence or persecution.

THE queen appeared rather more anxious to keep a strict hand over the puritans; who, though their pretensions were not so immediately dangerous to her authority, seemed to be actuated by a more unreasonable obstinacy, and to retain claims, of which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, it was, as yet, difficult to discern the full scope and intention. Some secret attempts of that sect to establish a separate congregation and discipline, had been carefully repressed in the beginning of this reign ¹³⁹; and when any of the established clergy discovered a tendency to their principles, by omitting the legal habits or ceremonies, the queen had shown a determined resolution to punish them by fines and deprivation ¹⁴⁰: Though her orders to that purpose had been frequently eluded, by the secret protection which these sectaries received from some of her most considerable courtiers.

¹³⁸ Walsingham's Letter in Burnet, vol. ii. p. 418. Cabala, p. 406.

¹³⁹ Strype's Life of Parker, p. 342. Ibid. Life of Grindal, p. 315.

¹⁴⁰ Heylin, p. 165, 166.



BUT what chiefly tended to gain Elizabeth the hearts of her subjects, was, her frugality, which, though carried sometimes to an extreme, led her not to amass treasures, but only to prevent impositions upon her people, who were at that time very little accustomed to bear the burthens of government. By means of her rigid œconomy, she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest; though some of these debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father ¹⁴¹. Some loans, which she had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her; a practice in that age somewhat unusual ¹⁴²; And she established her credit on such a footing, that no sovereign in Europe could more readily command any sum, which the public exigencies might at any time require ¹⁴³. During this peaceable and uniform government, England furnishes few materials for history; and except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence, which requires a particular detail.

THE most memorable event in this period was a session of parliament, held on the 8th of February, 1576; where debates were started, which may appear somewhat curious and singular. Peter Wentworth, a puritan, who had signalized himself in former parliaments, by his free and undaunted spirit, opened this session with a premeditated harangue,

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A parliament.

¹⁴¹ D'Ewes, p. 245. Camden, p. 446.

¹⁴² D'Ewes, p. 246. ¹⁴³ Ibid. p. 245.

C H A P. XL. 1579. which drew on him the indignation of the house, and gave great offence to the queen and the ministers. As it seems to contain a rude sketch of those principles of liberty, which happily gained afterwards the ascendant in England, it may not be improper to give, in a few words, the substance of it. He premised, that the very name of liberty is sweet, but the thing itself is precious beyond the most inestimable treasure: And that it behoved them to be careful, lest, contenting themselves with the sweetness of the name, they forego the substance, and abandon what of all earthly possessions was of the highest value to the kingdom. He then proceeded to observe, that freedom of speech in that house, a privilege so useful both to sovereign and subject, had been formerly infringed in many essential articles, and was, at present, exposed to the most imminent danger: That it was usual, when any subject of importance was handled, especially if it regarded religion, to surmise, that these topics were disagreeable to the queen, and that the farther proceeding in them would draw down her indignation upon their temerity: That Solomon had justly affirmed the king's displeasure to be a messenger of death; and it was no wonder if men, even though urged by motives of conscience and duty, should be inclined to stop short, when they found themselves exposed to so severe a penalty: That by the employing of this argument, the house was incapacitated from serving their country, and even from serving the queen

herself; whose ears, besieged by pernicious flatterers, were thereby rendered inaccessible to the most salutary truths: That it was a mockery to call an assembly a parliament, yet deny it that privilege, which was so essential to its being, and without which it must degenerate into an abject school of servility and dissimulation: That as the parliament was the great guardian of the laws, they ought to have liberty to discharge their trust, and to maintain that authority, whence even kings themselves derive their being: That a king was constituted such by law, and though he was not dependent on man, yet was he subordinate to God and the law, and was obliged to make their prescriptions, not his own will, the rule of his conduct: That even his commission, as God's viceroy, enforced, instead of loosening, this obligation; since he was thereby invested with authority to execute on earth the will of God, which is nothing but law and justice: That though these surmises of displeasing the queen by their proceedings, had impeached, in a very essential point, all freedom of speech, a privilege granted them by a special law; yet was there a more express and more dangerous invasion made on their liberties, by frequent messages from the throne: That it had become a practice, when the house was entering on any question, either ecclesiastical or civil, to bring an order from the queen, inhibiting them absolutely from treating of such matters, and debarring them from all farther discussion of these moment-

C H A P. XL. 1579. ous articles. That the prelates, emboldened by her royal protection, had assumed a decisive power in all questions of religion, and required that every one should implicitly submit his faith to their arbitrary determinations: That the love, which he bore his sovereign, forbade him to be silent under such abuses, or to sacrifice, on this important occasion, his duty to servile flattery and complaisance: And that, as no earthly creature was exempt from fault, so neither was the queen herself; but in imposing this servitude on her faithful commons, had committed a great, and even dangerous, fault against herself and the whole commonwealth ¹⁴⁴.

It is easy to observe, from this speech, that, in this dawn of liberty, the parliamentary style was still crude and unformed; and that the proper decorum of attacking ministers and counsellors, without interesting the honor of the crown, or mentioning the person of the sovereign, was not yet entirely established. The commons expressed great displeasure at this unusual licence: They sequestered Wentworth from the house, and committed him prisoner to the serjeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, consisting of all those members who were also members of the privy-council; and a report to be next day made to the house. This committee met in the star-chamber, and wearing the aspect of that arbitrary court, summoned Wentworth to

¹⁴⁴ D'Ewes, p. 236. 237. &c.

appear before them, and answer for his behaviour. But though the commons had discovered so little delicacy or precaution, in thus confounding their own authority with that of the star-chamber; Wentworth better understood the principles of liberty, and refused to give these counsellors any account of his conduct in parliament, till he were satisfied, that they acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of the house¹⁴⁵. He justified his liberty of speech by pleading the rigor and hardship of the queen's messages; and notwithstanding that the committee showed him, by instances in other reigns, that the practice of sending such messages was not unprecedented, he would not agree to express any sorrow or repentance. The issue of the affair was, that, after a month's confinement, the queen sent to the commons, informing them, that, from her special grace and favor, she had restored him to his liberty and to his place in the house¹⁴⁶. By this seeming lenity, she indirectly retained the power, which she had assumed, of imprisoning the members, and obliging them to answer before her for their conduct in parliament. And Sir Walter Mildmay endeavoured to make the house sensible of her Majesty's goodness, in so gently remitting the indignation, which she might justly conceive at the temerity of their member: But he informed them, that they had not the liberty of speaking what and of whom they pleased; and that indis-

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¹⁴⁵ D'Ewes, p. 241.¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 244.

CHAP. creet freedoms, used in that house, had, both in
 XL. the present and foregoing ages, met with a proper
 1579. chastisement. He warned them, therefore, not to
 abuse farther the queen's clemency; lest she be
 constrained, contrary to her inclination, to turn
 an unsuccessful lenity into a necessary severity¹⁴⁷.

THE behaviour of the two houses was, in
 every other respect, equally tame and submissive.
 Instead of a bill, which was at first introduced¹⁴⁸,
 for the reformation of the church, they were
 contented to present a petition to her majesty for
 that purpose: And when she told them, that she
 would give orders to her bishops, to amend all
 abuses, and if they were negligent, she would
 herself, by her supreme power and authority over
 the church, give such redress as would entirely
 satisfy the nation; the parliament willingly ac-
 quiesced in this sovereign and peremptory de-
 cision¹⁴⁹.

THOUGH the commons showed so little spirit in
 opposing the authority of the crown, they
 maintained, this session, their dignity against an
 encroachment of the peers, and would not
 agree to a conference, which, they thought,
 was demanded of them in an irregular manner.
 They acknowledged, however, with all humble-
 ness, (such is their expression) the superiority of
 the lords: They only refused to give that house
 any reason for their proceedings; and asserted,
 that, where they altered a bill sent them by the

¹⁴⁷ D'Ewes, p. 259. ¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 252. ¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 257.

peers, it belonged to them to desire a conference, C H A P.
not to the upper house to require it ¹⁵⁰.

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THE commons granted an aid of one subsidy and two fifteenths. Mildmay, in order to satisfy the house concerning the reasonableness of this grant, entered into a detail of the queen's past expences in supporting the government, and of the increasing charges of the crown, from the daily increase in the price of all commodities. He did not, however, forget to admonish them, that they were to regard this detail as the pure effect of the queen's condescension, since she was not bound to give them any account how she employed her treasure ¹⁵¹.

¹⁵⁰ D'Ewes, p. 263.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p. 246.

C H A P. XLI.

Affairs of Scotland — Spanish affairs — Sir Francis Drake — A parliament — Negotiations of marriage with the duke of Anjou — Affairs of Scotland — Letter of queen Mary to Elizabeth — Conspiracies in England — A parliament — The ecclesiastical commission — Affairs of the Low Countries — Hostilities with Spain.

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XLI.
1580.

THE greatest and most absolute security, that Elizabeth enjoyed during her whole reign, never exempted her from vigilance and attention; but the scene began now to be more overcast, and dangers gradually multiplied on her from more than one quarter.

Affairs of
Scotland.

THE earl of Morton had hitherto retained Scotland in strict alliance with the queen, and had also restored domestic tranquillity to that kingdom: But it was not to be expected, that the factitious and legal authority of a regent would long maintain itself in a country unacquainted with law and order; where even the natural dominion of hereditary princes so often met with opposition and controul. The nobility began a-new to break into factions: The people were disgusted with some instances of Morton's avarice: And the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenue, joined and increased the

discontent of the other orders. The regent was sensible of his dangerous situation; and having dropped some peevish expressions, as if he were willing or desirous to resign, the noblemen of the opposite party, favorites of the young king, laid hold of this concession, and required that demission which he seemed so frankly to offer them. James was at this time but eleven years of age: yet Morton, having secured himself, as he imagined, by a general pardon, resigned his authority into the hands of the king, who pretended to conduct, in his own name, the administration of the kingdom. The regent retired from the government; and seemed to employ himself entirely in the care of his domestic affairs; but either tired with this tranquillity, which appeared insipid after the agitations of ambition, or thinking it time to throw off dissimulation, he came again to court; acquired an ascendant in the council; and though he resumed not the title of regent, governed with the same authority as before. The opposite party, after holding separate conventions, took to arms, on pretence of delivering their prince from captivity, and restoring him to the free exercise of his government: Queen Elizabeth interposed by her ambassador, Sir Robert Bowes, and mediated an agreement between the factions: Morton kept possession of the government; but his enemies were numerous and vigilant, and his authority seemed to become every day more precarious.

THE count d'Aubigny, of the house of Lenox,

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cousin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good address and a sweet disposition, he appeared to the duke of Guise a proper instrument for detaching James from the English interest, and connecting him with his mother and her relations. He no sooner appeared at Stirling, where James resided, than he acquired the affections of the young monarch; and joining his interests with those of James Stuart of the house of Ochiltree, a man of profligate manners, who had acquired the king's favor, he employed himself, under the appearance of play and amusement, in instilling into the tender mind of the prince new sentiments of politics and government. He represented to him the injustice which had been done to Mary in her deposition, and made him entertain thoughts, either of resigning the crown into her hands, or of associating her with him in the administration¹. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which might ensue from the prevalence of this interest in Scotland, sent a new Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling; and accusing d'Aubigny, now created earl of Lenox, of an attachment to the French, warned James against entertaining such suspicious and dangerous connexions². The king excused himself, by Sir Alexander Hume his ambassador; and Lenox, finding that the queen had openly declared against him, was

¹ Digges, p. 412. 428. Melvil, p. 130.

² Spotswood, p. 309.

farther confirmed in his intention of overturning the English interest, and particularly of ruining Morton, who was regarded as the head of it. That nobleman was arrested in council, accused as an accomplice in the late king's murder, committed to prison, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. He confessed, that Bothwel had communicated to him the design, had pleaded Mary's consent, and had desired his concurrence; but he denied, that he himself had ever expressed any approbation of the crime; and in excuse for his concealing it, he alledged the danger of revealing the secret, either to Henry, who had no resolution nor constancy, or to Mary, who appeared to be an accomplice in the murder³. Sir Thomas Randolph was sent by the queen to intercede in favor of Morton; and that ambassador, not content with discharging this duty of his function, engaged, by his persuasion, the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Marre, and Glencairne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. The more to overawe that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth ordered forces to be assembled on the borders of England; but this expedient served only to hasten his sentence and execution⁴. Morton died with that constancy and resolution, which had attended him through all the various events of his life; and left a reputation, which

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³ Spotswood, p. 314. Crawford, p. 333. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 54.

⁴ Spotswood, p. 312.

C H A P. was less disputed with regard to abilities than
 XLI. probity and virtue. But this conclusion of the
 1580. scene happened not till the subsequent year.

Spanish af-
 fairs.

ELIZABETH was, during this period, extremely anxious on account of every revolution in Scotland; both because that country alone, not being separated from England by sea, and bordering on all the catholic and malecontent counties, afforded her enemies a safe and easy method of attacking her; and because she was sensible, that Mary, thinking herself abandoned by the French monarch, had been engaged by the Guises to have recourse to the powerful protection of Philip, who, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and suffered, more exasperated against her. That he might retaliate the assistance, which she gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had sent, under the name of the pope^s, a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always turbulent, and discontented with the English government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and were ready to join every invader. The Spanish general, San Josepho, built a fort in Kerry; and being there besieged by the earl of Ormond, president of Munster, who was soon after joined by lord Gray, the deputy, he made a weak and cowardly defence. After some assaults, feebly sustained, he surrendered at discretion;

^s Digges, p. 359. 370.

and Gray, who commanded but a small force, finding himself incumbered with so many prisoners, put all the Spaniards and Italians to the sword without mercy, and hanged about fifteen hundred of the Irish: A cruelty which gave great displeasure to Elizabeth⁶.

C H A P.

XLI.

1580.

WHEN the English ambassador made complaints of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the new world. This man, sprung from mean parents in the county of Devon, having acquired considerable riches by depredations made in the isthmus of Panama, and having there gotten a sight of the Pacific ocean, was so stimulated by ambition and avarice, that he scrupled not to employ his whole fortune in a new adventure through those seas, so much unknown at that time to all the European nations⁷. By means of Sir Christopher Hatton, then vice-chamberlain, a great favorite of the queen's, he obtained her consent and approbation; and he set sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were 164 able failors⁸. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those

Sir Francis
Drake.

⁶ Camden, p. 475. Cox's history of Ireland, p. 368.

⁷ Camden, p. 478. Stowe, p. 689.

⁸ Camden, p. 478. Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 730.
748. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. p. 46.

- C H A P. quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared
XLI. to return with the booty, which he had acquired.
1580. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy,
if he took the same way homewards, by which
he had reached the Pacific ocean, he attempted
to find a passage by the north of California; and
failing in that enterprize, he set sail for the East
Indies, and returned safely this year by the Cape
of Good Hope. He was the first Englishman who
sailed round the Globe; and the first commander
in chief: For Magellan, whose ship executed the
same adventure, died in his passage. His name
became celebrated on account of so bold and
fortunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the
resentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to per-
suade the queen, that it would be more prudent
to disavow the enterprize, to punish Drake, and
to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who ad-
mired valor, and who was allured by the prospect
of sharing in the booty, determined to countenance
that gallant sailor: She conferred on him the
honor of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet
from him at Deptford, on board the ship, which
had atchieved so memorable a voyage. When
Philip's ambassador, Mendoza, exclaimed against
Drake's piracies, she told him, that the Spaniards,
by arrogating a right to the whole new world,
and excluding thence all other European nations,
who should sail thither, even with a view of
exercising the most lawful commerce, naturally
tempted others to make a violent irruption into
those

those countries⁹. To pacify, however, the catholic monarch, she caused part of the booty to be restored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be agent for the merchants, whom Drake had spoiled. Having learned afterwards, that Philip had seized the money, and had employed part of it against herself in Ireland, part of it in the pay of the prince of Parma's troops, she determined to make no more restitutions.

THERE was another cause, which induced the queen to take this resolution: She was in such want of money, that she was obliged to assemble a parliament, a measure, which, as she herself openly declared, she never embraced, except when constrained by the necessity of her affairs. The parliament, besides granting her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, enacted some statutes for the security of her government, chiefly against the attempts of the catholics. Whoever, in any way, reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treason; to say mass was subjected to the penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the being present was punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of a hundred marks: A fine of twenty pounds a month was imposed on every one who continued, during that time, absent from church¹⁰. To utter slanderous or seditious words against the queen was punishable,

C H A P.
XLI.

1581.

16th Jan.
A parlia-
ment.

⁹ Camden, p. 480.

¹⁰ 23 Eliz. cap. 1.

C H A P. for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of
 XLI. ears; the second offence was declared felony:
 1581. The writing or printing of such words was felony
 even on the first offence ¹¹. The puritans pre-
 vailed so far as to have farther applications made
 for reformation in religion ¹². And Paul Went-
 worth, brother to the member of that name, who
 had distinguished himself in the preceding session,
 moved, that the commons, from their own au-
 thority, should appoint a general fast and prayers;
 a motion, to which the house unwarily assented.
 For this presumption, they were severely reprimanded by a message from the queen, as en-
 croaching on the royal prerogative and supremacy;
 and they were obliged to submit, and ask for-
 giveness ¹³.

THE queen and parliament were engaged to
 pass these severe laws against the catholics, by
 some late discoveries of the treasonable practices
 of their priests. When the ancient worship was
 suppressed, and the reformation introduced into
 the universities, the king of Spain reflected, that,
 as some species of literature was necessary for
 supporting these doctrines and controversies, the
 Romish communion must decay in England, if
 no means were found to give erudition to the
 ecclesiastics; and for this reason, he founded a
 seminary at Douay, where the catholics sent their
 children, chiefly such as were intended for the

¹¹ 23 Eliz, cap. 2.

¹² D'Ewes, p. 302.

¹³ Ibid. p. 284, 285.

priesthood, in order to receive the rudiments of their education. The cardinal of Lorraine imitated this example, by erecting a like seminary in his diocese of Rheims; and though Rome was somewhat distant, the pope would not neglect to adorn, by a foundation of the same nature, that capital of orthodoxy. These seminaries, founded with so hostile an intention, sent over every year a colony of priests, who maintained the catholic superstition in its full height of bigotry; and being educated with a view to the crown of martyrdom, were not deterred, either by danger or fatigue, from maintaining and propagating their principles. They infused into all their votaries an extreme hatred against the queen; whom they treated as an usurper, a schismatic, a heretic, a persecutor of the orthodox, and one solemnly and publicly anathematized by the holy father. Sedition, rebellion, sometimes assassination, were the expedients, by which they intended to effect their purposes against her; and the severe restraint, not to say persecution, under which the catholics labored, made them the more willingly receive, from their ghostly fathers, such violent doctrines.

THESE seminaries were all of them under the direction of the jesuites, a new order of regular priests erected in Europe, when the court of Rome perceived, that the lazy monks and beggarly friars, who sufficed in times of ignorance, were no longer able to defend the ramparts of the church, assailed on every side, and that the inquisitive spirit of the age required a society

C H A P. more active and more learned, to oppose its
 LXI. dangerous progress. These men, as they stood
 1581. foremost in the contest against the protestants,
 drew on them the extreme animosity of that
 whole sect; and by assuming a superiority over
 the other more numerous and more ancient orders
 of their own communion, were even exposed
 to the envy of their brethren: So that it is no
 wonder, if the blame, to which their principles
 and conduct might be exposed, has, in many
 instances, been much exaggerated. This reproach,
 however, they must bear from posterity, that,
 by the very nature of their institution, they were
 engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual
 remedy against superstition, into a nourishment
 of that infirmity; and as their erudition was
 chiefly of the ecclesiastical and scholastic kind
 (though a few members have cultivated polite
 literature), they were only the more enabled,
 by that acquisition, to refine away the plainest
 dictates of morality, and to erect a regular
 system of casuistry, by which prevarication,
 perjury, and every crime, when it served their
 ghostly purposes, might be justified and defended.

THE jesuites, as devoted servants to the court
 of Rome, exalted the prerogative of the sovereign
 pontiff above all earthly power; and by maintain-
 ing his authority of deposing kings, set no bounds,
 either to his spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. This
 doctrine became so prevalent among the zealous
 catholics in England, that the excommunication,
 fulminated against Elizabeth, excited many

scruples of a singular kind, to which it behoved the holy father to provide a remedy. The bull of Pius, in absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to resist the queen's usurpation; and many Romanists were apprehensive, that, by this clause, they were obliged in conscience, even though no favorable opportunity offered, to rebel against her, and that no dangers or difficulties could free them from this indispensable duty. But Parsons and Campion, two jesuites, were sent over with a mitigation and explanation of the doctrine; and they taught their disciples, that though the bull was for ever binding on Elizabeth and her partisans, it did not oblige the catholics to obedience, except when the sovereign pontiff should think proper, by a new summons, to require it¹⁴. Campion was afterwards detected in treasonable practices; and being put to the rack, and confessing his guilt, he was publicly executed. His execution was ordered at the very time when the duke of Anjou was in England, and prosecuted, with the greatest appearance of success, his marriage with the queen; and this severity was probably intended to appease her protestant subjects, and to satisfy them, that, whatever measures she might pursue, she never would depart from the principles of the reformation.

THE duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his preten-

C H A P.
XLI.
1581.

Negocia-
tions of
marriage

¹⁴ Camden, p. 477.

C H A P

XLI

1581.

with the
duke of
Anjou.

sions to Elizabeth; and that princess, though her suitor was near twenty-five years younger than herself, and had no knowledge of her person, but by pictures or descriptions, was still pleased with the image, which his addresses afforded her, of love and tenderness. The duke, in order to forward his suit, besides employing his brother's ambassador, sent over Simier, an agent of his own; an artful man, of an agreeable conversation, who soon remarking the queen's humor, amused her with gay discourse, and instead of serious political reasonings, which, he found, only awakened her ambition, and hurt his master's interests, he introduced every moment all the topics of passion and of gallantry. The pleasure, which she found in this man's company, soon produced a familiarity between them; and amidst the greatest hurry of business, her most confidential ministers had not such ready access to her, as had Simier, who, on pretence of negociation, entertained her with accounts of the tender attachment borne her by the duke of Anjou. The earl of Leicester, who had never before been alarmed with any courtship paid her, and who always trusted, that her love of dominion would prevail over her inclination to marriage, began to apprehend, that she was at last caught in her own snare, and that the artful encouragement, which she had given to this young suitor, had unawares engaged her affections. To render Simier odious, he availed himself of the credulity of the times, and spread reports, that that minister

had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by incantations and love potions. Simier, in revenge, endeavoured to discredit Leicester with the queen; and he revealed to her a secret, which none of her courtiers dared to disclose, that this nobleman was secretly, without her consent, married to the widow of the earl of Essex; an action which the queen interpreted either to proceed from want of respect to her, or as a violation of their mutual attachment; and which so provoked her, that she threatened to send him to the Tower¹⁵. The quarrel went so far between Leicester and the French agent, that the former was suspected of having employed one Tudor, a bravo, to take away the life of his enemy; and the queen thought it necessary, by proclamation, to take Simier under her immediate protection. It happened, that, while Elizabeth was rowed in her barge on the Thames, attended by Simier, and some of her courtiers, a shot was fired which wounded one of the bargemen; but the queen finding, upon inquiry, that the piece had been discharged by accident, gave the person his liberty, without farther punishment. So far was she from entertaining any suspicion against her people, that she was often heard to say. "That she would lend credit to nothing against them, which parents would not believe of their own children¹⁶."

C H A P.
XLI.
1581.

¹⁵ Camden, p. 471. ¹⁶ Ibid.

C H A P.

XLI.

1581.

THE duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favor, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and after some conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed. It appeared, that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by being personally known to her; and soon after, she commanded Burleigh, now treasurer, Suffex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to concert with the French ambassadors the terms of the intended contract of marriage. Henry had sent over on this occasion a splendid embassy, consisting of Francis de Bourbon, prince Dauphin, and many considerable noblemen; and as the queen had in a manner the power of prescribing what terms she pleased, the articles were soon settled with the English commissioners. It was agreed, that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue should have the exercise of their religion; that after the marriage he should bear the title of King, but the administration remain solely in the queen; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there be two males, the elder, in case of Henry's death without issue, should be king of France, the younger of England; that if there be but one male, and he succeed to the crown of France, he should be obliged to reside in England eight months every two years; that the laws and

customs of England should be preserved inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England¹⁷.

C H A P.
XII.
1581.

THESE articles, providing for the security of England, in case of its annexation to the crown of France, opened but a dismal prospect to the English; had not the age of Elizabeth, who was now in her forty-ninth year, contributed very much to allay their apprehensions of this nature. The queen also, as a proof of her still remaining uncertainty, added a clause, that she was not bound to complete the marriage, till farther articles, which were not specified, should be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France be certified of this agreement. Soon after, the queen sent over Walsingham, as ambassador to France, in order to form closer connexions with Henry, and enter into a league offensive and defensive against the increasing power and dangerous usurpations of Spain. The French King, who had been extremely disturbed with the unquiet spirit, the restless ambition, the enterprising, yet timid and inconstant disposition of Anjou, had already sought to free the kingdom from his intrigues, by opening a scene for his activity in Flanders; and having allowed him to embrace the protection of the States, had secretly supplied him with men and money for the undertaking. The prospect of settling him in England was for a like reason very agreeable to that

¹⁷ Camden, p. 484.

C H A P. monarch; and he was desirous to cultivate, by
 XLI.
 1581. every expedient, the favorable sentiments, which Elizabeth seemed to entertain towards him. But this princess, though she had gone farther in her amorous ¹⁸ dalliance than could be justified or accounted for by any principles of policy, was not yet determined to carry matters to a final conclusion; and she confined Walsingham, in his instructions, to negotiating conditions of a mutual alliance between France and England ¹⁹. Henry with reluctance submitted to hold conferences on that subject; but no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle the terms of alliance, than he was informed, that the queen, foreseeing hostility with Spain to be the result of this confederacy, had declared, that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage ²⁰. The French court, pleased with this change of resolution, broke off the conferences concerning the league, and opened a negociation for the marriage ²¹. But matters had not long proceeded in this train before the queen again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and ordered Walsingham to renew the conferences for that purpose. Before he had leisure to bring this point to maturity, he was interrupted by a new change of resolution ²²; and not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Bur-

¹⁸ Digges, p. 387. 396. 408. 426. ¹⁹ Ibid. p. 352.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 375. 391. ²¹ Ibid. p. 392.

²² Ibid. p. 408.

leigh, and all the wisest ministers of Elizabeth, C H A P.
XLI.
1581.
were in amazement, doubtful where this contest
between inclination and reason, love and ambi-
tion, would at last terminate ²³.

IN the course of this affair, Elizabeth felt
another variety of intentions, from a new contest
between her reason and her ruling passions. The
duke of Anjou expected from her some money,
by which he might be enabled to open the
campaign in Flanders; and the queen herself,
though her frugality made her long reluctant,
was sensible that this supply was necessary; and
she was at last induced, after much hesitation,
to comply with his request ²⁴. She sent him a
present of a hundred thousand crowns; by which,
joined to his own demesnes and the assistance of
his brother and the queen dowager, he levied
an army, and took the field against the prince
of Parma. He was successful in raising the siege
of Cambray; and being chosen by the States
governor of the Netherlands, he put his army
into winter quarters, and came over to England,
in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. The
reception which he met with, made him expect
entire success, and gave him hopes, that Eliza-
beth had surmounted all scruples, and was finally
determined to make choice of him for her hus-
band. In the midst of the pomp, which attended
the anniversary of her coronation, she was seen,

17th Nov.

²³ See note [C] at the end of the volume.

²⁴ Digges, p. 357. 387, 388. 409. 426. 439. Rymer,
xv. p. 793.

C H A P. after long and intimate discourse with him, to
 XLI. take a ring from her own finger, and to put it
 1581. upon his; and all the spectators concluded, that, in this ceremony, she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. St. Aldegonde, ambassador from the States, dispatched immediately a letter to his masters, informing them of this great event; and the inhabitants of Antwerp, who, as well as the other Flemings, regarded the queen as a kind of tutelar divinity, testified their joy by bonfires and the discharge of their great ordnance ²⁵. A puritan of Lincoln's-Inn had written a passionate book, which he entitled, "The Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." He was apprehended and prosecuted by order of the queen, and was condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Such was the constancy and loyalty of the man, that, immediately after the sentence was executed, he took off his hat with his other hand, and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen."

BUT notwithstanding this attachment, which Elizabeth so openly discovered to the duke of Anjou, the combat of her sentiments was not entirely over; and her ambition, as well as prudence, rousing itself by intervals, still filled her breast with doubt and hesitation. Almost all the courtiers, whom she trusted and favored,

²⁵ Camden, p. 486. Thuan. lib. 74.

Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, discovered an extreme aversion to the marriage; and the ladies of her bedchamber made no scruple of opposing her resolution with the most zealous remonstrances²⁶. Among other enemies to the match, Sir Philip, son of Sir Henry Sidney deputy of Ireland, and nephew to Leicester, a young man, the most accomplished of the age, declared himself: And he used the freedom to write her a letter, in which he dissuaded her from her present resolution, with an unusual elegance of expression, as well as force of reasoning. He told her, that the security of her government depended entirely on the affections of her protestant subjects; and she could not, by any measure, more effectually disgust them than by espousing a prince, who was son of the perfidious Catherine, brother to the cruel and perfidious Charles, and who had himself embrued his hands in the blood of the innocent and defenceless protestants: That the catholics were her mortal enemies, and believed either that she had originally usurped the crown, or was now lawfully deposed by the pope's bull of excommunication; and nothing had ever so much elevated their hopes as the prospect of her marriage with the duke of Anjou: That her chief security at present, against the efforts of so numerous, rich, and united a faction, was, that they possessed no head who could conduct their dangerous enterprises; and she herself was rashly supplying that

C H A P.
XLI.
1581.

²⁶ Camden, p. 486.

C H A P. defect, by giving an interest in the kingdom to
 XLI. a prince, whose education had zealously attached
 1581. him to that communion: That though he was a
 stranger to the blood royal of England, the dis-
 positions of men were now such, that they
 preferred the religious to the civil connexions;
 and were more influenced by sympathy in theo-
 logical opinions than by the principles of legal
 and hereditary government: That the duke himself
 had discovered a very restless and turbulent spirit;
 and having often violated his loyalty to his elder
 brother and his sovereign, there remained no
 hopes that he would passively submit to a woman,
 whom he might, in quality of husband, think
 himself entitled to command: That the French
 nation, so populous, so much abounding in sol-
 diers, so full of nobility, who were devoted to
 arms, and, for some time, accustomed to serve
 for plunder, would supply him with partisans,
 dangerous to a people, unwarlike and defenceless
 like the generality of her subjects: That the plain
 and honorable path, which she had followed, of
 cultivating the affections of her people, had hi-
 therto rendered her reign secure and happy; and
 however her enemies might seem to multiply
 upon her, the same invincible rampart was still
 able to protect and defend her: That so long as
 the throne of France was filled by Henry or his
 posterity, it was in vain to hope, that the ties
 of blood would ensure the amity of that kingdom,
 preferably to the maxims of policy or the preju-
 dices of religion; and if ever the crown devolved

on the duke of Anjou, the conjunction of France and England would prove a burthen, rather than a protection, to the latter kingdom: That the example of her sister Mary was sufficient to instruct her in the danger of such connexions; and to prove, that the affection and confidence of the English could never be maintained, where they had such reason to apprehend, that their interests would every moment be sacrificed to those of a foreign and hostile nation: That notwithstanding these great inconveniences, discovered by past experience, the house of Burgundy, it must be confessed, was more popular in the nation than the family of France; and, what was of chief moment, Philip was of the same communion with Mary, and was connected with her by this great band of interest and affection: And that however the queen might remain childless, even though old age should grow upon her, the singular felicity and glory of her reign would preserve her from contempt; the affections of her subjects, and those of all the protestants in Europe, would defend her from danger; and her own prudence, without other aid or assistance, would baffle all the efforts of her most malignant enemies ²⁷.

THESE reflections kept the queen in great anxiety and irresolution; and she was observed to pass several nights, without any sleep or repose. At

²⁷ Letters of the Sydneys, vol. i. p. 287, & seq. Cabala, p. 363.

C H A P. last her settled habits of prudence and ambition
 XLI prevailed over her temporary inclination; and
 1582. having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a
 long conference with him in private, where she
 was supposed to have made him apologies for
 breaking her former engagements. He expressed
 great disgust on his leaving her; threw away the
 ring which she had given him; and uttered many
 curses on the mutability of women and of island-
 ers²². Soon after, he went over to his govern-
 ment of the Netherlands; lost the confidence of
 the States by a rash and violent attempt on their
 liberties; was expelled that country; retired into
 France; and there died. The queen, by timely
 reflection, saved herself from the numerous mis-
 chiefs, which must have attended so imprudent
 a marriage: And the distracted state of the French
 monarchy prevented her from feeling any effects
 of that resentment, which she had reason to dread,
 from the affront so wantonly put upon that
 royal family.

Affairs of
 Scotland.

THE anxiety of the queen, from the attempts
 of the English catholics, never ceased during the
 whole course of her reign; but the variety of
 revolutions which happened in all the neighbour-
 ing kingdoms, were the source sometimes of her
 hopes, sometimes of her apprehensions. This
 year the affairs of Scotland strongly engaged her
 attention. The influence, which the earl of
 Lenox, and James Stuart, who now assumed

²² Camden, p. 486.

the title of earl of Arran, had acquired over the young king, was but a slender foundation of authority; while the generality of the nobles, and all the preachers, were so much discontented with their administration. The assembly of the church appointed a solemn fast; of which one of the avowed reasons was the danger to which the king was exposed from the company of wicked persons²⁹: And on that day, the pulpits resounded with declamations against Lenox, Arran, and all the present counsellors. When the minds of the people were sufficiently prepared by these lectures, a conspiracy of the nobility was formed, probably with the concurrence of Elizabeth, for seizing the person of James, at Ruthven, a seat of the earl of Gowry's; and the design, being kept secret, succeeded without any opposition. The leaders in this enterprise were, the earl of Gowry himself, the earl of Marre, the lords Lindsay and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dumfermline, Paisley, and Cambuskenneth. The king wept when he found himself detained a prisoner; but the master of Glamis said, "No matter for his tears: Better that boys weep than bearded men." An expression which James could never afterwards forgive³⁰. But notwithstanding his resentment, he found it necessary to submit to the present necessity. He pretended an entire acquiescence in the conduct of the associators; acknowledged the

C H A P.

XLI.

1582

23d August.

²⁹ Spotswood, p. 319. ³⁰ Ibid. p. 320.

C H A P. detention of his person to be acceptable service;
 XLI. and agreed to summon both an assembly of the
 1582. church and a convention of estates, in order to
 ratify that enterprize.

THE assembly, though they had established it as an inviolable rule, that the king, on no account and under no pretence, should ever intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters, made no scruple of taking civil affairs under their cognizance, and of deciding on this occasion, that the attempt of the conspirators was acceptable to all that feared God, or tendered the preservation of the king's person, and prosperous state of the realm. They even enjoined all the clergy to recommend these sentiments from the pulpit; and they threatened with ecclesiastical censures every man, who should oppose the authority of the confederated lords³¹. The convention, being composed chiefly of these lords themselves, added their sanction to these proceedings. Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house: Lenox, though he had power to resist, yet rather than raise a civil war, or be the cause of bloodshed³², chose to retire into France, where he soon after died. He persevered to the last in the protestant religion, to which James had converted him, but which the Scottish clergy could never be persuaded that he had sincerely embraced. The king sent for his family, restored his son to his

³¹ Spotswood, p. 322.

³² Heylin's Hist. Presbyter. p. 227. Spotswood.

paternal honors and estate, took care to establish the fortunes of all his other children; and to his last moments never forgot the early friendship, which he had borne their father: A strong proof of the good dispositions of that prince³³.

No sooner was this revolution known in England, than the queen sent Sir Henry Cary and Sir Robert Bowes to James, in order to congratulate him on his deliverance from the pernicious counsels of Lenox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the seeming violence committed on him by the confederated lords; and to procure from him permission for the return of the earl of Angus, who, ever since Morton's fall, had lived in England. They easily prevailed in procuring the recall of Angus; and as James suspected, that Elizabeth had not been entirely unacquainted with the project of his detention, he thought proper, before the English ambassadors, to dissemble his resentment against the authors of it. Soon after, La Mothe-Fenelon, and Menneville, appeared as ambassadors from France: Their errand was to inquire concerning the situation of the king, make professions of their master's friendship, confirm the ancient league with France, and procure an accommodation between James and the queen of Scots. This last proposal gave great umbrage to the clergy; and the assembly voted the settling of terms between the mother and son to be a most wicked undertaking.

C H A P.
XLI.

1582.

³³ Spotswood, p. 328.

C H A P.

XLI.

1583.

The pulpits resounded with declamations against the French ambassadors; particularly Fenelon, whom they called the messenger of the bloody murderer, meaning the duke of Guise: And as that minister, being knight of the Holy Ghost, wore a white cross on his shoulder, they commonly denominated it, in contempt, the badge of Antichrist. The king endeavoured, though in vain, to repress these insolent reflections; but in order to make the ambassadors some compensation, he desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to give them a splendid dinner before their departure. To prevent this entertainment, the clergy appointed that very day for a public fast; and finding that their orders were not regarded, they employed their sermons in thundering curses on the magistrates, who, by the king's direction, had put this mark of respect on the ambassadors. They even pursued them afterwards with the censures of the church; and it was with difficulty they were prevented from issuing the sentence of excommunication against them, on account of their submission to royal, preferably to clerical, authority³⁴.

WHAT increased their alarm with regard to an accommodation between James and Mary, was, that the English ambassadors seemed to concur with the French in this proposal; and the clergy were so ignorant as to believe the sincerity of the professions made by the former. The queen

³⁴ Spotswood, p. 324.

of Scots had often made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been entirely neglected; but hearing of James's detention, she wrote a letter in a more pathetic and more spirited strain than usual; craving the assistance of that princess, both for her own and her son's liberty. She said, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her most tender concern; and the experience, which she herself, during so many years, had of the extreme infelicity attending that situation, had made her the more apprehensive, lest a like fate should pursue her unhappy offspring: That the long train of injustice which she had undergone; the calumnies to which she had been exposed; were so grievous, that, finding no place for right or truth among men, she was reduced to make her last appeal to Heaven, the only competent tribunal between princes of equal jurisdiction, degree, and dignity: That after her rebellious subjects, secretly instigated by Elizabeth's ministers, had expelled her the throne, had confined her in prison, had pursued her with arms, she had voluntarily thrown herself under the protection of England; fatally allured by those reiterated professions of amity which had been made her, and by her confidence in the generosity of a friend, an ally, and a kinswoman: That not content with excluding her from her presence, with supporting the usurpers of her throne, with contributing to the destruction of her faithful subjects, Elizabeth had reduced her to a worse captivity than that from which she had escaped,

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Letter of
Mary to
Elizabeth.

CHAP. and had made her this cruel return for the unli-
 mited confidence, which she had reposed in her:
 XLII. That though her resentment of such severe usage
 1583. had never carried her farther than to use some
 disappointed efforts for her deliverance, unhappy
 for herself, and fatal to others, she found the
 rigors of confinement daily multiplied upon her;
 and at length carried to such a height that it
 surpassed the bounds of all human patience any
 longer to endure them: That she was cut off
 from all communication, not only with the rest
 of mankind, but with her only son; and her
 maternal fondness, which was now more enlivened
 by their unhappy sympathy in situation, and was
 her sole remaining attachment to this world,
 deprived even of that melancholy solace, which
 letters or messages could give: That the bitterness
 of her sorrows, still more than her close confine-
 ment, had preyed upon her health, and had added
 the insufferable weight of bodily infirmity to all
 those other calamities, under which she labored:
 That while the daily experience of her maladies
 opened to her the comfortable prospect of an
 approaching deliverance into a region where pain
 and sorrow are no more, her enemies envied her
 that last consolation; and having secluded her
 from every joy on earth, had done what in them
 lay to debar her from all hopes in her future
 and eternal existence: That the exercise of her
 religion was refused her; the use of those sacred
 rites in which she had been educated; the
 commerce with those holy ministers, whom

Heaven had appointed to receive the acknow- C H A P.
 ledgment of our transgressions, and to seal our XLI.
 penitence by a solemn re-admission into heavenly 1583.
 favor and forgiveness: That it was in vain to
 complain of the rigors of persecution exercised
 in other kingdoms; when a queen, and an inno-
 cent woman, was excluded from an indulgence,
 which never yet, in the most barbarous countries,
 had been denied to the meanest and most obnox-
 ious malefactor: That could she ever be induced
 to descend from that royal dignity in which
 Providence had placed her, or depart from her
 appeal to Heaven, there was only one other
 tribunal, to which she would appeal from all
 her enemies; to the justice and humanity of
 Elizabeth's own breast, and to that lenity, which,
 uninfluenced by malignant counsel, she would
 naturally be induced to exercise towards her:
 And that she finally entreated her, to resume her
 natural disposition, and to reflect on the support,
 as well as comfort, which she might receive from
 her son and herself, if, joining the obligations
 of gratitude to the ties of blood, she would
 deign to raise them from their present melancholy
 situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and
 authority, to which they were entitled³⁵.

ELIZABETH was engaged to obstruct Mary's
 restoration, chiefly because she foresaw an unhappy
 alternative attending that event. If this princess
 recovered any considerable share of authority in

³⁵ Camden, p. 489.

C H A P. Scotland, her resentment, ambition, zeal, and
 XLI. connexions, both domestic and foreign, might
 1583, render her a dangerous neighbour to England,
 and enable her, after suppressing the protestant
 party among her subjects, to revive those preten-
 sions, which she had formerly advanced to the
 crown, and which her partisans in both kingdoms
 still supported with great industry and assurance.
 If she were reinstated in power, with such strict
 limitations as could not be broken, she might be
 disgusted with her situation; and flying abroad,
 form more desperate attempts than any sovereign,
 who had a crown to hazard, would willingly
 undertake. Mary herself, sensible of these difficul-
 ties, and convinced by experience, that Elizabeth
 would for ever debar her the throne, was now
 become more humble in her wishes; and as age
 and infirmities had repressed those sentiments of
 ambition, by which she had formerly been so
 much actuated, she was willing to sacrifice all her
 hopes of grandeur, in order to obtain a little
 liberty; a blessing to which she naturally aspired
 with the fondest impatience. She proposed, there-
 fore, that she should be associated with her son
 in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that
 the administration should remain solely in him:
 And she was content to live in England, in a
 private station, and even under a kind of restraint;
 but with some more liberty, both for exercise and
 company, than she had enjoyed, since the first
 discovery of her intrigues with the duke of
 Norfolk. But Elizabeth, afraid lest such a loose

method of guarding her would facilitate her escape into France or Spain, or, at least, would encourage and increase her partisans, and enable her to conduct those intrigues, to which she had already discovered so strong a propensity, was secretly determined to deny her requests; and though she feigned to assent to them, she well knew how to disappoint the expectations of the unhappy princess. While Lenox maintained his authority in Scotland, she never gave any reply to all the applications made to her by the Scottish queen³⁶: At present, when her own creatures had acquired possession of the government, she was resolved to throw the odium of refusal upon them; and pretending, that nothing farther was required to a perfect accommodation, than the concurrence of the council of state in Scotland, she ordered her ambassador, Bowes, to open the negociation for Mary's liberty, and her association with her son in the title to the crown. Though she seemed to make this concession to Mary, she refused her the liberty of sending any ambassador of her own; and that princess could easily conjecture, from this circumstance, what would be the result of the pretended negociation. The privy council of Scotland, instigated by the clergy, rejected all treaty; and James, who was now a captive in their hands, affirmed, that he had never agreed to an association with his mother,

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³⁶ Jebb, vol. ii. p. 540.

C H A P. and that the matter had never gone farther than
 XLI. some loose proposals for that purpose ³⁷.

1583.

THE affairs of Scotland remained not long in the present situation. James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and flying to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The earls of Argyle, Marshal, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their sovereign; and the opposite party found themselves unable to resist so powerful a combination. They were offered a pardon, upon their submission, and an acknowledgment of their fault, in seizing the king's person, and restraining him from his liberty. Some of them accepted of the terms: The greater number, particularly Angus, Hamilton, Marre, Glamis, left the country; and took shelter in Ireland or England, where they were protected by Elizabeth. The earl of Arran was recalled to court; and the malecontents, who could not brook the authority of Lenox, a man of virtue and moderation, found, that, by their resistance, they had thrown all power into the hands of a person, whose counsels were as violent as his manners were profligate ³⁸.

ELIZABETH wrote a letter to James; in which she quoted a moral sentence from Isocrates, and indirectly reproached him with inconstancy, and a breach of his engagements. James, in his reply, justified his measures; and retaliated, by turning

³⁷ MS. in the Advocates's Library, A. 3. 28. p. 401. from the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9.

³⁸ Spotswood, p. 325, 326, & seq.

two passages of Isocrates against *her* ³⁹. She next sent Walsingham in an embassy to him; and her chief purpose in employing that aged minister in an errand, where so little business was to be transacted, was to learn, from a man of so much penetration and experience, the real character of James. This young prince possessed good parts, though not accompanied with that vigor and industry which his station required; and as he excelled in general discourse and conversation, Walsingham entertained a higher idea of his talents than he was afterwards found, when real business was transacted, to have fully merited ⁴⁰. The account, which he gave his mistress, induced her to treat James thenceforth with some more regard, than she had hitherto been inclined to pay him.

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THE king of Scots, persevering in his present views, summoned a parliament; where it was enacted, that no clergyman should presume, in his sermons, to utter false, untrue, or scandalous speeches against the king, the council, or the public measures, or to meddle, in an improper manner, with the affairs of his majesty and the states ⁴¹. The clergy, finding that the pulpit would be no longer a sanctuary for them, were extremely offended: They said, that the king was become popish in his heart; and they gave their adversaries the epithets of gross libertines, belly gods, and infamous persons ⁴². The violent

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³⁹ Melvil, p. 140, 141. Strype, vol. iii. p. 165.

⁴⁰ Melvil, p. 148. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 530.

⁴¹ Spotswood, p. 333. ⁴² Ibid. p. 334.

C H A P. conduct of Arran soon brought over the popu-
 XLI. larity to their side. The earl of Gowry, though
 54 pardoned for the late attempt, was committed to
 prison, was tried on some new accusations, con-
 demned, and executed. Many innocent persons
 suffered from the tyranny of this favorite; and
 the banished lords, being assisted by Elizabeth,
 now found the time favorable for the recovery
 of their estates and authority. After they had
 been foiled in one attempt upon Stirling, they
 prevailed in an other; and being admitted to the
 king's presence, were pardoned, and restored to
 his favor.

ARRAN was degraded from authority; deprived
 of that estate and title which he had usurped;
 and the whole country seemed to be composed to
 tranquillity. Elizabeth, after opposing, during
 some time, the credit of the favorite, had found
 it more expedient, before his fall, to compound
 all differences with him, by means of Davison,
 a minister whom she sent to Scotland: But having
 more confidence in the lords, whom she had
 helped to restore, she was pleased with this
 alteration of affairs; and maintained a good
 correspondence with the new court and ministry
 of James.

Conspiracies
 in England.

THESE revolutions in Scotland would have
 been regarded as of small importance to the repose
 and security of Elizabeth, had her own subjects
 been entirely united, and had not the zeal of
 the catholics, excited by constraint more properly
 than persecution, daily threatened her with some

dangerous insurrection. The vigilance of the ministers, particularly of Burleigh and Walsingham, was raised in proportion to the activity of the malecontents; and many arts, which had been blameable in a more peaceful government, were employed, in detecting conspiracies, and even discovering the secret inclinations of men. Counterfeit letters were written in the name of the queen of Scots, or of the English exiles, and privately conveyed to the houses of the catholics: Spies were hired to observe the actions and discourse of suspected persons: Informers were countenanced: And though the sagacity of these two great ministers helped them to distinguish the true from the false intelligence, many calumnies were, no doubt, hearkened to, and all the subjects, particularly the catholics, kept in the utmost anxiety and inquietude. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots, and which was intercepted. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who had been engaged with him in treasonable designs, immediately withdrew beyond sea. Throgmorton confessed, that a plan for an invasion and insurrection had been laid; and though, on his trial, he was desirous of retracting this

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confession, and imputing it to the fear of torture, he was found guilty and executed. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, having promoted this conspiracy, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and Wade was sent into Spain, to excuse his dismissal, and to desire the king to send another ambassador in his place: But Philip would not so much as admit the English ambassador to his presence. Creighton, a Scottish Jesuite, coming over on board a vessel which was seized, tore some papers, with an intention of throwing them into the sea; but the wind blowing them back upon the ship, they were pieced together, and discovered some dangerous secrets⁴³.

MANY of these conspiracies were, with great appearance of reason, imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots⁴⁴; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought, that they could not use too many precautions against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper. She was removed from under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, who, though vigilant and faithful in that trust, had also been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise: And she was committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury; men of honor, but inflexible in their care and attention. An association was also set on foot by the earl of Leicester and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was beloved by the whole nation, except the

⁴³ Camden, p. 499.

⁴⁴ Strype, vol. iii. p. 246.

more zealous catholics, men of all ranks willingly flocked to the subscription of it. The purport of this association was to defend the queen, to revenge her death or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, what title soever they might possess, by whose suggestion, or for whose behoof, any violence should be offered to her majesty⁴⁵. The queen of Scots was sensible, that this association was levelled against her; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she also desired leave to subscribe it.

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ELIZABETH, that she might the more discourage malecontents, by showing them the concurrence of the nation in her favor, summoned a new parliament; and she met with that dutiful attachment, which she expected. The association was confirmed by parliament; and a clause was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her: Upon condemnation, pronounced by these commissioners, the guilty person was excluded from all claim to the succession, and was farther punishable, as her majesty should direct. And for greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason⁴⁶.

23d Nov.
A parliament.

⁴⁵ State Trials, vol. i. p. 122, 123.

⁴⁶ 27 Eliz. cap. 1.

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A SEVERE law was also enacted against jesuites and popish priests: It was ordained, that they should depart the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or relieved them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of treason; and that if any, so submitting themselves, should, within ten years, approach the court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void⁴⁷. By this law, the exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was, in many instances, connived at, was totally suppressed. In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed, by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partisans of that princess asserted, that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treasonable views and attempts of the sect, not that every individual, who suffered the penalty of the law, was convicted of treason⁴⁸. The catholics, therefore, might now with justice complain of a violent

⁴⁷ 27 Eliz, cap. 2. ⁴⁸ Some even of those who defend the queen's measures, allow that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished. Camden, p. 649. persecution;

persecution; which, we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigotted maxims of that age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion.

THE parliament, besides arming the queen with these powers, granted her a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. The only circumstance, in which their proceedings were disagreeable to her, was an application, made by the commons, for a farther reformation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet even in this attempt, which affected her, as well as them, in a delicate point, they discovered how much they were overawed by her authority. The majority of the house were puritans, or inclined to that sect⁴⁹; but the severe reprimands, which they had already, in former sessions, met with from the throne, deterred them from introducing any bill concerning religion; a proceeding which would have been interpreted as an encroachment on the prerogative: They were content to proceed by way of humble petition, and that not addressed to her majesty, which

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⁴⁹ Besides the petition after mentioned, an other proof of the prevalence of the puritans among the commons was their passing a bill for the reverent observance of Sunday, which they termed the Sabbath, and the depriving the people of those amusements, which they were accustomed to take on that day. D'Ewes, p. 335. It was a strong symptom of a contrary spirit in the upper house, that they proposed to add Wednesday to the fast days, and to prohibit entirely the eating of flesh on that day. D'Ewes, p. 373.

C H A P. would have given offence, but to the house of
 XLI. lords, or rather the bishops, who had a seat in
 1584. that house, and from whom alone they were
 willing to receive all advances towards reformation⁵⁰: A strange departure from what we now
 apprehend to be the dignity of the commons!

THE commons desired in their humble petition, that no bishop should exercise his function of ordination but with the consent and concurrence of six presbyters: But this demand, as it really introduced a change of ecclesiastical government, was firmly rejected by the prelates. They desired, that no clergyman should be instituted into any benefice, without previous notice being given to the parish, that they might examine whether there lay any objection to his life or doctrine: An attempt towards a popular model, which naturally met with the same fate. In another article of the petition, they prayed, that the bishops should not insist upon every ceremony, or deprive incumbents for omitting part of the service: As if uniformity in public worship had not been established by law; or as if the prelates had been endowed with a dispensing power. They complained of abuses, which prevailed, in pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, and they entreated the reverend fathers to think of some law for the remedy of these abuses: Implying, that those matters were too high for the commons of themselves to attempt.

⁵⁰ D'Ewes, p. 357.

BUT the most material article, which the commons touched upon in their petition, was the court of ecclesiastical commission, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation.

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THE first primate after the queen's accession, was Parker; a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen, who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575; and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of *prophecying*s, or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses, which, she apprehended, had become so many academies of fanaticism; and for this offence, she had, by an order of the Star Chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall into the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes. He informed the queen, that all the

The ecclesiastical court.

C H A P. spiritual authority, lodged in the prelates, was
XLI. insignificant without the sanction of the crown;
1584. and as there was no ecclesiastical commission at
that time in force, he engaged her to issue a new
one; more arbitrary than any of the former, and
conveying more unlimited authority⁵¹. She ap-
pointed forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom
were ecclesiastics; three commissioners made a
quorum; the jurisdiction of the court extended
over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of
men; and every circumstance of its authority,
and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary
to the clearest principles of law and natural equity.
The commissioners were empowered to visit and
reform all errors, heresies, schisms, in a word to
regulate all opinions as well as to punish all breach
of uniformity in the exercise of public worship.
They were directed to make inquiry, not only
by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but
by all other means and ways, which they could
devise; that is, by the rack, by torture, by
inquisition, by imprisonment. Where they found
reason to suspect any person, they might admi-
nister to him an oath, called *ex Officio*, by which
he was bound to answer all questions, and might
thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most
intimate friend. The fines, which they levied,
were discretionary, and often occasioned the total
ruin of the offender, contrary to the established
laws of the kingdom. The imprisonment, to

⁵¹ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 410.

which they condemned any delinquent, was limited by no rule but their own pleasure. They assumed a power of imposing on the clergy what new articles of subscription, and consequently of faith, they thought proper. Though all other spiritual courts were subject, since the reformation, to inhibitions from the supreme courts of law, the ecclesiastical commissioners were exempted from that legal jurisdiction, and were liable to no controul. And the more to enlarge their authority, they were empowered to punish all incests, adulteries, fornications; all outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage: And the punishments, which they might inflict, were according to their wisdom, conscience, and discretion. In a word, this court was a real *inquisition*; attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. And as the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court was destructive of all law, so its erection was deemed by many a mere usurpation of this imperious prince's; and had no other foundation than a clause of a statute, restoring the supremacy to the crown, and empowering the sovereign to appoint commissioners for exercising that prerogative. But prerogative in general, especially the supremacy, was supposed in that age to involve powers, which no law, precedent, or reason could limit and determine.

BUT though the commons, in their humble petition to the prelates, had touched so gently and submissively on the ecclesiastical grievances,

C H A P. the queen, in a speech from the throne at the end
 XLI of the session, could not forbear taking notice
 1584. of their presumption, and reproving them for
 those murmurs, which, for fear of offending her,
 they had pronounced so low as not directly to
 reach her royal ears. After giving them some
 general thanks for their attachment to her, and
 making professions of affection to her subjects,
 she told them, that whoever found fault with
 the church threw a slander upon her, since she
 was appointed *by God* supreme ruler over it, and
 no heresies or schisms could prevail in the king-
 dom but by her permission and negligence: That
 some abuses must necessarily have place in every
 thing; but she warned the prelates to be watch-
 ful; for if she found them careless of their charge,
 she was fully determined to depose them: That
 she was commonly supposed to have employed
 herself in many studies, particularly philosophical
 (by which, I suppose, she meant theological)
 and she would confess, that few, whose leisure
 had not allowed them to make profession of
 science, had read or reflected more: That as she
 could discern the presumption of many, in curiously
 canvassing the scriptures, and starting innovations,
 she would no longer endure this licentiousness;
 but meant to guide her people, by God's rule,
 in the just mean between the corruptions of
 Rome and the errors of modern sectaries: And
 that as the Romanists were the inveterate enemies
 of her person, so the other innovators were dan-
 gerous to all kingly government; and under color

of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgment, and to censure the actions of the prince ⁵².

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FROM the whole of this transaction, we may observe, that the commons, in making their general application to the prelates, as well as in some particular articles of their petition, showed themselves wholly ignorant, no less than the queen, of the principles of liberty and a legal constitution. And it may not be unworthy of remark, that Elizabeth, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the parliament against the ecclesiastical commission, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission; in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners ⁵³.

DURING this session of parliament, there was discovered a conspiracy, which much increased the general animosity against the catholics, and still farther widened the breach between the religious parties. William Parry, a catholic gentleman, had received the queen's pardon for a crime, by which he was exposed to capital punishment; and having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he had concealed while he remained in England. He was here persuaded by Palmio, a jesuite, that he could not perform a more meritorious action, than to

⁵² See note [D] at the end of the volume.

⁵³ Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 292. 386. 400.

C H A P. take away the life of his sovereign and his
XLI. benefactress; the nuncio, Campeggio, when con-
1584. sulted, approved extremely of this pious under-
taking; and Parry, though still agitated with
doubts, came to Paris, with an intention of
passing over to England, and executing his
bloody purpose. He was here encouraged in the
design by Thomas Morgan, a gentleman of
great credit in the party; and though Watts and
some other catholic priests told him, that the
enterprise was criminal and impious, he preferred
the authority of Raggazzoni, the nuncio at
Paris, and determined to persist in his resolution.
He here wrote a letter to the pope, which was
conveyed to cardinal Como; he communicated
his intention to the holy father; and craved his
absolution and paternal benediction. He received
an answer from the cardinal, by which he found
that his purpose was extremely applauded; and
he came over to England with a full design of
carrying it into execution. So deeply are the
sentiments of morality engraved in the human
breast, that it is difficult even for the prejudices
of false religion totally to efface them; and this
bigotted assassin resolved, before he came to
extremities, to try every other expedient for
alleviating the persecutions, under which the
catholics at that time labored. He found means
of being introduced to the queen; assured her
that many conspiracies were formed against her;
and exhorted her, as she tendered her life, to
give the Romanists some more indulgence in the

exercise of their religion: But lest he should be c H A P.
tempted by the opportunity to assassinate her, XLI.
he always came to court unprovided with every 1584.
offensive weapon. He even found means to be
elected member of parliament; and having made
a vehement harangue against the severe laws
enacted this last session, was committed to cus-
tody for his freedom, and sequestered from the
house. His failure in these attempts confirmed
him the more in his former resolution; and he
communicated his intentions to Nevil, who
entered zealously into the design, and was de-
termined to have a share in the merits of its
execution. A book, newly published by Dr.
Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, served
farther to efface all their scruples, with regard
to the murder of an heretical prince; and having
agreed to shoot the queen, while she should be
taking the air on horseback, they resolved, if
they could not make their escape, to sacrifice
their lives, in fulfilling a duty, so agreeable, as
they imagined, to the will of God and to true
religion. But while they were watching an
opportunity for the execution of their purpose,
the earl of Westmoreland happened to die in
exile; and as Nevil was next heir to that family,
he began to entertain hopes, that, by doing
some acceptable service to the queen, he might
recover the estate and honors, which had been
forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He
betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers;
and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed

CHAP. the guilt, both to them, and to the jury who
 XLI. tried him. The letter from cardinal Como, being
 1584. produced in court, put Parry's narrative beyond
 all question; and that criminal, having received
 sentence of death ⁵⁴, suffered the punishment,
 which the law appointed for his treasonable
 conspiracy ⁵⁵.

The affairs
 of the Low
 Countries.

THESE bloody designs now appeared every
 where, as the result of that bigotted spirit by
 which the two religions, especially the catholic,
 were at this time actuated. Somerville, a gentle-
 man of the county of Warwic, somewhat dis-
 ordered in his understanding, had heard so much
 of the merit attending the assassination of heretics
 and persecutors, that he came to London with
 a view of murdering the queen; but having be-
 trayed his design by some extravagances, he was
 thrown into prison, and there perished by a vo-
 luntary death ⁵⁶. About the same time, Baltazar
 Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook, and executed
 the same design against the prince of Orange;
 and that great man perished at Delft, by the hands
 of a desperate assassin, who, with a resolution
 worthy of a better cause, sacrificed his own life,
 in order to destroy the famous restorer and pro-
 tector of religious liberty. The Flemings, who
 regarded that prince as their father, were filled
 with great sorrow, as well when they considered

⁵⁴ State Trials, vol. i. p. 103, & seq. Strype, vol. iii.
 p. 255, & seq. ⁵⁵ See note [E] at the end of the volume.

⁵⁶ Camden, p. 495.

the miserable end of so brave a patriot, as their own forlorn condition, from the loss of so powerful and prudent a leader, and from the rapid progress of the Spanish arms. The prince of Parma had made every year great advances upon them, had reduced several of the provinces to obedience, and had laid close siege to Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands, whose subjection, it was foreseen, would give a mortal blow to the already declining affairs of the revolted provinces. The only hopes, which remained to them, arose from the prospect of foreign succour. Being well acquainted with the cautious and frugal maxims of Elizabeth, they expected better success in France; and in the view of engaging Henry to embrace their defence, they tendered him the sovereignty of their provinces. But the present condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject so advantageous an offer. The duke of Anjou's death, which, he thought, would have tended to restore public tranquillity, by delivering him from the intrigues of that prince, plunged him into the deepest distress; and the king of Navarre, a professed hugonot, being next heir to the crown, the duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the catholic league, and to urge Henry, by the most violent expedients, to seek the exclusion of that brave and virtuous prince. Henry himself, though a zealous catholic, yet, because he declined complying with their precipitate measures, became an object of aversion to the league;

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and as his zeal, in practising all the superstitious observances of the Romish church, was accompanied with a very licentious conduct in private life, the catholic faction, in contradiction to universal experience, embraced thence the pretext of representing his devotion as mere deceit and hypocrisy. Finding his authority to decline, he was obliged to declare war against the hugonots, and to put arms into the hands of the league, whom, both on account of their dangerous pretensions at home, and their close alliance with Philip, he secretly regarded as his more dangerous enemies. Constrained by the same policy, he dreaded the danger of associating himself with the revolted protestants in the Low Countries, and was obliged to renounce that inviting opportunity of revenging himself for all the hostile intrigues and enterprises of Philip.

THE States, reduced to this extremity, sent over a solemn embassy to London, and made a-new an offer to the queen, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth's wisest counsellors were divided in opinion with regard to the conduct, which she should hold in this critical and important emergency. Some advised her to reject the offer of the States, and represented the imminent dangers, as well as injustice, attending the acceptance of it. They said, that the suppression of rebellious subjects was the common cause of all sovereigns, and any encouragement, given to the revolt of the Flemings,

might prove the example of a like pernicious licence to the English: That though princes were bound by the laws of the Supreme Being not to oppress their subjects, the people never were entitled to forget all duty to their sovereign, or transfer, from every fancy or disgust, or even from the justest ground of complaint, their obedience to any other master: That the queen, in the succours hitherto afforded the Flemings, had considered them as laboring under oppression, not as entitled to freedom; and had intended only to admonish Philip not to persevere in his tyranny, without any view of ravishing from him these provinces, which he enjoyed by hereditary right from his ancestors: That her situation in Ireland, and even in England, would afford that powerful monarch sufficient opportunity of retaliating upon her; and she must thenceforth expect, that, instead of secretly fomenting faction, he would openly employ his whole force in the protection and defence of the catholics: That the pope would undoubtedly unite his spiritual arms to the temporal ones of Spain: And that the queen would soon repent her making so precarious an acquisition in foreign countries, by exposing her own dominions to the most imminent danger⁵⁷.

OTHER counsellors of Elizabeth maintained a contrary opinion. They asserted, that the queen

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⁵⁷ Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part 2, lib. iv.

C. H A P. had not, even from the beginning of her reign,
 XLI. but certainly had not at present, the choice,
 1585. whether she would embrace friendship or hostility
 with Philip: That by the whole tenor of that
 prince's conduct it appeared, that his sole aims
 were, the extending of his empire, and the en-
 tire subjection of the protestants, under the
 specious pretence of maintaining the catholic faith:
 That the provocations, which she had already
 given him, joined to his general scheme of po-
 licy, would for ever render him her implacable
 enemy; and as soon as he had subdued his re-
 volted subjects, he would undoubtedly fall, with
 the whole force of his united empire, on her de-
 fenceless state: That the only question was,
 whether she would maintain a war abroad, and
 supported by allies, or wait till the subjection of
 all the confederates of England should give her
 enemies leisure to begin their hostilities in the
 bowels of the kingdom: That the revolted pro-
 vinces, though in a declining condition, possessed
 still considerable force; and by the assistance of
 England, by the advantages of their situation,
 and by their inveterate antipathy to Philip, might
 still be enabled to maintain the contest against the
 Spanish monarchy: That their maritime power,
 united to the queen's, would give her entire se-
 curity on the side from which alone she could be
 assaulted, and would even enable her to make
 inroads on Philip's dominions, both in Europe
 and the Indies: That a war, which was necessary,
 could never be unjust; and self-defence was con-

cerned, as well in preventing certain dangers at a distance, as in repelling any immediate invasion: And that, since hostility with Spain was the unavoidable consequence of the present interests and situations of the two monarchies, it were better to compensate that danger and loss by the acquisition of such important provinces to the English empire⁵⁸.

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AMIDST these opposite councils, the queen, apprehensive of the consequences attending each extreme, was inclined to steer a middle course; and though such conduct is seldom prudent, she was not, in this resolution, guided by any prejudice or mistaken affection. She was determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, whose interests she deemed so closely connected with her own: But foreseeing that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, imputations which hitherto she had carefully avoided, she immediately rejected this offer. She concluded a league with the States on the following conditions: That she should send over an army to their assistance, of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and pay them during the war; that the general, and two others, whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the

⁵⁸ Camden, p. 507. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

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States; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expences should be refunded after the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing and the Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, should, in the mean time, be consigned into her hands, by way of security.

THE queen knew that this measure would immediately engage her in open hostilities with Philip; yet was not she terrified with the view of the present greatness of that monarch. The continent of Spain was at that time rich and populous; and the late addition of Portugal, besides securing internal tranquillity, had annexed an opulent kingdom to Philip's dominions, had made him master of many settlements in the East-Indies and of the whole commerce of those regions, and had much increased his naval power, in which he was before chiefly deficient. All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of subjection under him, and seemed to possess their sovereignty on terms somewhat precarious. The Austrian branch in Germany, with their dependent principalities, was closely connected with him, and was ready to supply him with troops for every enterprise. All the treasures of the West-Indies were in his possession; and the present scarcity of the precious metals in every country of Europe, rendered the influence of his riches the more forcible and extensive. The Netherlands seemed on the point of relapsing into servitude; and
small

small hopes were entertained of their withstanding those numerous and veteran armies, which, under the command of the most experienced generals, he employed against them. Even France, which was wont to counterbalance the Austrian greatness, had lost all her force from intestine commotions; and as the catholics, the ruling party, were closely connected with him, he rather expected thence an augmentation, than a diminution, of his power. Upon the whole, such prepossessions were every where entertained concerning the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, when he heard that Elizabeth had openly embraced the defence of the revolted Flemings, scrupled not to say, that she had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war⁵⁹. Yet was this princess rather cautious than enterprising in her natural temper: She ever needed more to be impelled by the vigor, than restrained by the prudence of her ministers: But when she saw an evident necessity, she braved danger with magnanimous courage; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist, and even to assault, the whole force of the catholic monarch.

THE Earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. He carried with him a splendid retinue; being

⁵⁹ Camden, p. 508

C H A P. accompanied by the young earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the lords Audley and North, Sir William Ruffel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Clifton, and a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was received, on his arrival at Flushing, by his nephew Sir Philip Sydney, the governor; and every town, through which he passed, expressed their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his presence and the queen's protection had brought them the most certain deliverance. The States, desirous of engaging Elizabeth still farther in their defence, and knowing the interest which Leicester possessed with her, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him, in some respects, as their sovereign. But this step had a contrary effect to what they expected. The queen was displeased with the artifice of the States, and the ambition of Leicester. She severely reprimanded both; and it was with some difficulty, that, after many humble submissions, they were able to appease her.

Hostilities
with Spain.

AMERICA was regarded as the chief source of Philip's power, as well as the most defenceless part of his dominions; and Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with that monarch was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in that quarter. The great success of the Spaniards and Portuguese in both Indies had excited a spirit of emulation in England; and as the progress of commerce, still more that of colonies, is slow

and gradual, it was happy, that a war, in this critical period, had opened a more flattering prospect to the avarice and ambition of the English, and had tempted them, by the view of sudden and exorbitant profit, to engage in naval enterprizes. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West-Indies: Two thousand three hundred volunteers, besides seamen, engaged on board of it; Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral; Christopher Carlisle commander of the land forces. They took St. Jago, near Cape Verde, by surprise; and found in it plenty of provisions, but no riches. They sailed to Hispaniola; and easily making themselves master of St. Domingo by assault, obliged the inhabitants to ransom their houses by a sum of money. Carthagená fell next into their hands after some more resistance, and was treated in the same manner. They burned St. Anthony and St. Helens, two towns on the coast of Florida. Sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and industry, on which they are founded; they had here been so unsuccessful, that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned

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C H A P. with so much riches as encouraged the volunteers,
 XLI. and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness
 1586. in those countries as served extremely to inflame
 the spirits of the nation to future enterprises.
 The great mortality, which the climate had pro-
 duced in his fleet, was, as is usual, but a feeble
 restraint on the avidity and sanguine hopes of
 young adventurers⁶⁶. It is thought that Drake's
 fleet first introduced the use of tobacco into
 England.

THE enterprises of Leicester were much less
 successful than those of Drake. This man possessed
 neither courage nor capacity, equal to the trust
 reposed in him by the queen; and as he was the
 only bad choice she made for any considerable
 employment, men naturally believed, that she
 had here been influenced by an affection still more
 partial than that of friendship. He gained at first
 some advantage in an action against the Spaniards;
 and threw succours into Grave, by which that
 place was enabled to make a vigorous defence:
 But the cowardice of the governor, Van Hemert
 rendered all these efforts useless. He capitulated
 after a feeble resistance; and being tried for his
 conduct, suffered a capital punishment from the
 sentence of a court martial. The prince of Parma
 next undertook the siege of Venlo, which was
 surrendered to him after some resistance. The
 fate of Nuys was more dismal; being taken by
 assault, while the garrison was treating of a

⁶⁶ Camden, p. 509.

capitulation. Rhineberg, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of Colonel Morgan, was afterwards besieged by the Spaniards; and Leicester, thinking himself too weak to attempt raising the siege, endeavoured to draw off the prince of Parma by forming another enterprize. He first attacked Doesberg, and succeeded: He then sat down before Zutphen, which the Spanish general thought so important a fortress, that he hastened to its relief. He made the marquis of Gualto advance with a convoy, which he intended to throw into the place. They were favored by a fog, but falling by accident on a body of English cavalry, a furious action ensued, in which the Spaniards were worsted, and the marquis of Gonzaga, an Italian nobleman of great reputation and family, was slain. The pursuit was stopped by the advance of the prince of Parma with the main body of the Spanish army; and the English cavalry, on their return from the field, found their advantage more than compensated by the loss of Sir Philip Sydney, who, being mortally wounded in the action, was carried off by the soldiers, and soon after died. This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman, that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valor, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit, which he pos-

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C H A P. fessed with the queen and the earl of Leicester,
XLI. was wholly employed in the encouragement of
1585. genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field, mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, *This man's necessity is still greater than mine*: And resigned to him the bottle of water. The king of Scots, struck with admiration of Sydney's virtue, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses, which he composed on the death of that young hero.

THE English, though a long peace had deprived them of all experience, were strongly possessed of military genius; and the advantages, gained by the prince of Parma, were not attributed to the superior bravery and discipline of the Spaniards, but solely to the want of military abilities in Leicester. The States were much discontented with his management of the war; still more with his arbitrary and imperious conduct; and at the end of the campaign, they applied to him for a redress of all their grievances. But Leicester, without giving them any satisfaction, departed soon after for England⁶¹.

THE queen, while she provoked so powerful an enemy as the king of Spain, was not forgetful

⁶¹ Camden, p. 512. Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

to secure herself on the side of Scotland; and she endeavoured both to cultivate the friendship and alliance of her kinsman, James, and to remove all grounds of quarrel between them. An attempt, which she had made some time before, was not well calculated to gain the confidence of that prince. She had dispatched Wotton as her ambassador to Scotland; but though she gave him private instructions with regard to her affairs, she informed James, that, when she had any political business to discuss with him, she would employ another minister; that this man was not fitted for serious negociations; and that her chief purpose in sending him, was to entertain the king with witty and facetious conversation, and to partake without reserve of his pleasures and amusements. Wotton was master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of a careless gaiety, the deepest designs, and most dangerous artifices. When but a youth of twenty, he had been employed by his uncle, Dr. Wotton, ambassador in France during the reign of Mary, to insnare the constable, Montmorency; and had not his purpose been frustrated by pure accident, his cunning had prevailed over all the caution and experience of that aged minister. It is no wonder, that, after years had improved him in all the arts of deceit, he should gain an ascendant over a young prince, of so open and unguarded a temper as James; especially when the queen's recommendation prepared the way for his reception. He was admitted into all the pleasures of the

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C H A P. king; made himself master of his secrets; and had
 XLI, so much the more authority with him in political
 1586, transactions, as he did not seem to pay the least
 attention to these matters. The Scottish ministers,
 who observed the growing interest of this man,
 endeavoured to acquire his friendship; and
 scrupled not to sacrifice to his intrigues the most
 essential interests of their master. Elizabeth's usual
 jealousies with regard to her heirs began now to
 be levelled against James; and as that prince had
 attained the years proper for marriage, she was
 apprehensive, lest, by being strengthened with
 children and alliances, he should acquire the
 greater interest and authority with her English
 subjects. She directed Wotton to form a secret
 concert with some Scottish noblemen, and to
 procure their promise, that James, during three
 years, should not, on any account, be permitted
 to marry. In consequence of this view, they
 endeavoured to embroil him with the king of
 Denmark, who had sent ambassadors to Scotland,
 on pretence of demanding restitution of the
 Orkneys, but really with a view of opening a
 proposal of marriage between James and his
 daughter. Wotton is said to have employed his
 intrigues to purposes still more dangerous. He
 formed, it is pretended, a conspiracy with some
 malecontents, to seize the person of the king, and
 to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth, who
 would probably have denied all concurrence in
 the design, but would have been sure to retain
 him in perpetual thralldom, if not captivity.

The conspiracy was detected, and Wotton fled hastily from Scotland, without taking leave of the king⁶².

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JAMES'S situation obliged him to dissemble his resentment of this traiterous attempt, and his natural temper inclined him soon to forgive and forget it. The queen found no difficulty in renewing the negociations for a strict alliance between Scotland and England; and the more effectually to gain the prince's friendship, she granted him a pension, equivalent to his claim on the inheritance of his grandmother, the countess of Lenox, lately deceased⁶³. A league was formed between Elizabeth and James, for the mutual defence of their dominions, and of their religion, now menaced by the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. It was stipulated, that, if Elizabeth were invaded, James should aid her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot; that Elizabeth, in a like case, should send to his assistance three thousand horse and six thousand foot; that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince who demanded assistance; that, if the invasion should be made upon England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, this latter kingdom should march its whole force to the assistance of the former; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of

⁶² Melvil.⁶³ Spotswood, p. 351.

CHAP. either state with any foreign kingdom, so far as
XLI. religion was concerned⁶⁴.

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By this league James secured himself against all attempts from abroad, opened a way for acquiring the confidence and affections of the English, and might entertain some prospect of domestic tranquillity, which, while he lived on bad terms with Elizabeth, he could never expect long to enjoy. Besides the turbulent disposition, and inveterate feuds of the nobility, ancient maladies of the Scottish government, the spirit of fanaticism had introduced a new disorder; so much the more dangerous, as religion, when corrupted by false opinion, is not restrained by any rules of morality, and is even scarcely to be accounted for in its operations, by any principles of ordinary conduct and policy. The insolence of the preachers, who triumphed in their dominion over the populace, had, at this time, reached an extreme height; and they carried their arrogance so far, not only against the king, but against the whole civil power, that they excommunicated the archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had been active in parliament for promoting a law, which restrained their seditious sermons⁶⁵: Nor could that prelate save himself by any expedient from this terrible sentence, but by renouncing all pretensions to ecclesiastical authority. One Gibson said in the pulpit, that captain James Stuart (meaning the late

⁶⁴ Spotswood, p. 349. Camden, p. 513. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 803. ⁶⁵ Spotswood, p. 345, 346.

earl of Arran) and his wife, Jezabel, had been deemed the chief persecutors of the church; but it was now seen, that the king himself was the great offender: And for this crime the preacher denounced against him the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race “.

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THE secretary, Thirlstone, perceiving the king so much molested with ecclesiastical affairs, and with the refractory disposition of the clergy, advised him to leave them to their own courses: For that in a short time they would become so intolerable, that the people would rise against them, and drive them out of the country. “ True, ” replied the king: “ If I purposed to “ undo the church and religion, your counsel “ were good: But my intention is to maintain “ both; therefore cannot I suffer the clergy to “ follow such a conduct, as will in the end bring “ religion into contempt and derision “.”

“ Spotswood, p. 344. “ Ibid. p. 348.

C H A P. XLII.

Zeal of the catholics — Babington's conspiracy — Mary assents to the conspiracy — The conspirators seized and executed — Resolution to try the queen of Scots — The commissioners prevail on her to submit to the trial — The trial — Sentence against Mary — Interposition of king James — Reasons for the execution of Mary — The execution — Mary's character — The queen's affected sorrow — Drake destroys the Spanish fleet at Cadiz — Philip projects the invasion of England — The invincible armada — Preparations in England — The armada arrives in the channel — Defeated — A parliament — Expedition against Portugal — Affairs of Scotland.

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THE dangers, which arose from the character, principles, and pretensions of the queen of Scots, had very early engaged Elizabeth to consult, in her treatment of that unfortunate princess, the dictates of jealousy and politics, rather than of friendship or generosity: Resentment of this usage had pushed Mary into enterprises, which had nearly threatened the repose and authority of Elizabeth: The rigor and restraint, thence redoubled upon the captive queen¹, still impelled her to attempt greater extremities; and while her

¹ Digges, p. 139. Haynes, p. 607.

impatience of confinement, her revenge², and her high spirit concurred with religious zeal, and the suggestions of desperate bigots, she was at last engaged in designs, which afforded her enemies, who watched the opportunity, a pretence or reason for effecting her final ruin.

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THE English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of rage and animosity against the queen. The recent persecutions, from which they had escaped; the new rigors, which, they knew, awaited them in the course of their missions; the liberty, which for the present they enjoyed, of declaiming against that princess; and the contagion of that religious fury, which every where surrounded them in France: All these causes had obliterated with them every maxim of common sense, and every principle of morals or humanity. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and deposed the queen; and some of them had gone to that height of extravagance, as to assert, that that performance had been immediately dictated by the holy Ghost. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of that princess in particular, was represented as the most meritorious of all enterprises; and they taught, that, whoever perished in such pious attempts, enjoyed without dispute the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By such doctrines, they instigated

Zeal of the
catholics.

² See note [F] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who
 XLII. had served some years in the Low Countries,
 1586. under the prince of Parma, to attempt the life
 of Elizabeth; and this assassin, having made a
 vow to persevere in his design, was sent over to
 England and recommended to the confidence of
 the more zealous catholics.

ABOUT the same time, John Ballard, a priest
 of that seminary, had returned to Paris from his
 mission in England and Scotland; and as he had
 observed a spirit of mutiny and rebellion to be
 very prevalent among the catholic devotees in
 these countries, he had founded on that disposi-
 tion the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and
 of restoring by force of arms the exercise of the
 ancient religion³. The situation of affairs abroad
 seemed favorable to this enterprize: The pope,
 the Spaniard, the duke of Guise, concurring in
 interests, had formed a resolution to make some
 attempt against England: And Mendoza, the
 Spanish ambassador at Paris, strongly encouraged
 Ballard to hope for succours from these princes.
 Charles Paget alone, a zealous catholic and a
 devoted partisan of the queen of Scots, being
 well acquainted with the prudence, vigor, and
 general popularity of Elizabeth, always maintain-
 ed, that, so long as that princess was allowed
 to live, it was in vain to expect any success
 from an enterprize upon England. Ballard, per-
 suaded of this truth, saw more clearly the ne-

³ Murden's State Papers, p. 517.

cessity of executing the design, formed at Rheims: He came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of captain Fortescue: And he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion⁴.

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THE first person, to whom he addressed himself, was Anthony Babington of Dethic in the county of Derby. This young gentleman was of a good family, possessed a plentiful fortune, had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station. Being zealously devoted to the catholic communion, he had secretly made a journey to Paris some time before; and had fallen into intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a bigotted fugitive from England, and with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of France. By continually extolling the amiable accomplishments and heroical virtues of that princess, they impelled the sanguine and unguarded mind of young Babington to make some attempt for her service; and they employed every principle of ambition, gallantry, and religious zeal to give him a contempt of those dangers, which attended any enterprise against the vigilant government of Elizabeth. Finding him well disposed for their purpose, they sent him back to England, and secretly, unknown to himself, recommended him to the queen of

Babington's
conspiracy.

⁴ Camden, p. 515.

C H A P. Scots, as a person worth engaging in her service.
 XLII. She wrote him a letter, full of friendship and
 1586. confidence; and Babington, ardent in his temper
 and zealous in his principles, thought, that these
 advances now bound him in honor to devote him-
 self entirely to the service of that unfortunate
 princess. During some time, he had found means
 of conveying to her all her foreign correspondence;
 but after she was put under the custody of Sir
 Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous
 confinement, he experienced so much difficulty
 and danger in rendering her this service, that he
 had desisted from every attempt of that nature.

WHEN Ballard began to open his intentions to
 Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not
 extinguished: His former ardor revived on the
 mention of any enterprise, which seemed to pro-
 mise success in the cause of Mary and of the
 catholic religion. He had entertained sentiments
 conformable to those of Paget, and represented
 the folly of all attempts, which, during the life-
 time of Elizabeth, could be formed against the
 established religion and government of England.
 Ballard encouraged by this hint, proceeded to
 discover to him the design undertaken by Savage^s;
 and was well pleased to observe, that, instead
 of being shocked with the project, Babington
 only thought it not secure enough, when in-
 trusted to one single hand, and proposed to

^s Camden. State Trials, p. 114.

join five others with Savage in this desperate enterprife. C H A P.

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IN prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many catholic gentlemen, discontented with the present government. Barnwel, of a noble family in Ireland, Charnoc, a gentleman of Lancashire, and Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household, readily undertook the assassination of the queen. Charles Tilney, the heir of an ancient family, and Tichborne of Southampton, when the design was proposed to them, expressed some scruples, which were removed by the arguments of Babington and Ballard. Savage alone refused during some time to share the glory of the enterprife with any others^{*}; he challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty he was induced to depart from this preposterous ambition.

THE deliverance of the queen of Scots, at the very same instant, when Elizabeth should be assassinated, was requisite for effecting the purpose of the conspirators; and Babington undertook, with a party of a hundred horse, to attack her guards, while she should be taking the air on horseback. In this enterprife, he engaged Edward Windsor, brother to the lord of that name, Thomas Salisbury, Robert Gage, John Travers, John Jones and Henry Donne; most of them men

^{*} State Trials, vol. i. p. 111.

C H A P. XLII. 1586. of family and interest. The conspirators much wanted, but could not find, any nobleman of note, whom they might place at the head of the enterprise; but they trusted, that the great events, of the queen's death and Mary's deliverance, would rouse all the zealous catholics to arms; and that foreign forces, taking advantage of the general confusion, would easily fix the queen of Scots on the throne, and re-establish the ancient religion.

THESE desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state. That artful minister had engaged Maud, a catholic priest, whom he retained in pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France, and had thereby got a hint of the designs, entertained by the fugitives. Polly, an other of his spies, had found means to insinuate himself among the conspirators in England: and though not entirely trusted, had obtained some insight into their dangerous secrets. But the bottom of the conspiracy was never fully known, till Gifford, a seminary priest, came over, and made a tender of his services to Walsingham. By his means, the discovery became of the utmost importance, and involved the fate of Mary, as well as of those zealous partisans of that princess.

BABINGTON and his associates, having laid such a plan, as, they thought, promised infallible success, were impatient to communicate the design to the queen of Scots, and to obtain her appro-

bation and concurrence. For this service, they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of that minister might forward his secret correspondence with Mary. Walsingham proposed the matter to Paulet, and desired him to connive at Gifford's corrupting one of his servants: But Paulet, averse to the introducing of such a pernicious precedent into his family, desired, that they would rather think of some other expedient. Gifford found a brewer, who supplied the family with ale; and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's connivance, were thrust through a chink in the wall; and answers were returned by the same conveyance.

BALLARD and Babington were at first diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters: But finding by the answers, that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all farther scruple, and conveyed by his hands the most criminal and dangerous parts of their conspiracy. Babington informed Mary of the design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal, which they bore to the catholic cause and her majesty's service, would undertake the *tragical execution*. Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards,

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Mary assents
to the con-
spiracy.

C H A P. XLII. 1586. which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection⁷. These letters, with others of Mendoza, Charles Paget, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir Francis Inglefield, were carried by Gifford to secretary Walsingham; were deciphered by the art of Philips, his clerk; and copies taken of them. Walsingham employed another artifice, in order to obtain full insight into the plot: He subjoined to a letter of Mary's a postscript in the same cipher: in which he made her desire Babington to inform her of the names of the conspirators. The indiscretion of Babington furnished Walsingham with still another means of detection, as well as of defence. That gentleman had caused a picture to be drawn, where he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins; and a motto was subjoined, expressing that their common perils were the band of their confederacy. A copy of this picture was brought to Elizabeth, that she might know the assassins, and guard herself against their approach to her person.

MEANWHILE, Babington, anxious to ensure and hasten the foreign succours, resolved to dispatch Ballard into France; and he procured for him, under a feigned name, a licence to travel. In order to remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, pretended great zeal

⁷ State Trials, vol. i. p. 135. Camden, p. 515.

for the queen's service, offered to go abroad, and professed his intentions of employing the confidence, which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his loyal purposes; and promising his own counsel and assistance in the execution of them, still fed him with hopes, and maintained a close correspondence with him. A warrant, meanwhile, was issued for seizing Ballard; and this incident, joined to the consciousness of guilt, begat in all the conspirators the utmost anxiety and concern. Some advised, that they should immediately make their escape: Others proposed, that Savage and Charnoc should without delay execute their purpose against Elizabeth; and Babington, in prosecution of this scheme, furnished Savage with money, that he might buy good cloaths, and thereby have more easy access to the queen's person. Next day, they began to apprehend, that they had taken the alarm too hastily; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, was persuaded by that subtle minister, that the seizure of Ballard had proceeded entirely from the usual diligence of informers in the detection of popish and seminary priests. He even consented to take lodgings secretly in Walsingham's house, that they might have more frequent conferences together, before his intended departure for France: But observing, that he was watched and guarded, he made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered

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C H A P. XLII. 1586. themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in woods or barns; but were soon discovered and thrown into prison. In their examinations, they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed:

The conspirators seized and executed.

September.

Of whom, seven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence.

THE lesser conspirators being dispatched, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots; on whose account, and with whose concurrence, these attempts had been made against the life of the queen, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. Some of Elizabeth's counsellors were averse to this procedure; and thought, that the close confinement of a woman, who was become very sickly, and who would probably put a speedy period to their anxiety by her natural death, might give sufficient security to the government, without attempting a measure, of which there scarcely remains any example in history. Leicester advised, that Mary should be secretly dispatched by poison, and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of that action: But Walsingham declared his abhorrence of it; and still insisted, in conjunction with the majority of the counsellors, for the open trial of the queen of Scots. The situation of England, and of the English ministers, had, indeed, been hitherto not a little dangerous. No successor of the crown was declared; but the heir of blood, to whom the people in general were

likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; was, from multiplied provocations, an enemy to the ministers and principal nobility; and their personal safety, as well as the safety of the public, seemed to depend alone on the queen's life, who was now somewhat advanced in years. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counsellors, knowing themselves to be so obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to push every measure to extremities against her; and were even more anxious than the queen herself, to prevent her from ever mounting the throne of England.

THOUGH all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the queen of Scots had been so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the matter; and it was a great surprise to her, when Sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's orders, informed her, that all her accomplices were discovered and arrested. He chose the time for giving her this intelligence, when she was mounted on horseback to go a hunting, and she was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but was conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay castle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arrested: All her papers were seized, and sent up to the council: Above sixty different keys to ciphers

C H A P. were discovered: There were also found many
 XLII. letters from persons beyond sea, and several too
 1586. from English noblemen, containing expressions
 of respect and attachment. The queen took no
 notice of this latter discovery; but the persons
 themselves, knowing their correspondence to be
 detected, thought, that they had no other means
 of making atonement for their imprudence, than
 by declaring themselves thenceforth the most in-
 veterate enemies of the queen of Scots^s.

Resolution
 to try the
 queen of
 Scots.

IT was resolved to try Mary, not by the com-
 mon statute of treasons, but by the act which
 had passed the former year, with a view to this
 very event; and the queen, in terms of that act,
 appointed a commission, consisting of forty noble-
 men and privy-counsellors, and empowered them
 to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom
 she denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir
 to James V. of Scotland. The commissioners
 came to Fotheringay castle, and sent to her Sir
 Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet, and Edward
 Barker, who delivered her a letter from Elizabeth,
 informing her of the commission, and of the ap-
 proaching trial. Mary received the intelligence
 without emotion or astonishment. She said,
 however, that it seemed strange to her, that the
 queen should command her, as a subject, to sub-
 mit to a trial and examination before subjects:
 That she was an absolute independent princess,
 and would yield to nothing, which might dero-

^s Camden, p. 518.

gate either from her royal majesty, from the state of sovereign princes, or from the dignity and rank of her son: That, however oppressed by misfortunes, she was not yet so much broken in spirit, as her enemies flattered themselves; nor would she, on any account, be accessary to her own degradation and dishonor: That she was ignorant of the laws and statutes of England; was utterly destitute of council; and could not conceive who were entitled to be called her peers, or could legally sit as judges on her trial: That though she had lived in England for many years, she had lived in captivity; and not having received the protection of the laws, she could not, merely by her involuntary residence in the country, be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction: That, notwithstanding the superiority of her rank, she was willing to give an account of her conduct before an English parliament; but could not view these commissioners in any other light, than as men appointed to justify, by some color of legal proceeding, her condemnation and execution: And that she warned them to look to their conscience and their character, in trying an innocent person; and to reflect, that these transactions would somewhere be subject to revival, and that the theatre of the whole world was much wider than the kingdom of England.

IN return, the commissioners sent a new deputation, informing her, that her plea, either from her royal dignity or from her imprisonment, could

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C H A P. not be admitted; and that they were empowered
 XLII. to proceed to her trial, even though she should
 1586. refuse to answer before them. Burleigh, the
 The com- treasurer, and Bromley, the chancellor, employed
 missioners much reasoning to make her submit; but the
 prevail on her to sub- person, whose arguments had the chief influence,
 mit to the trial. was Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain.
 His speech was to this purpose. "You are ac-
 " cused, Madam," said he, "but not condemned,
 " of having conspired the destruction of our lady
 " and queen anointed. You say, you are a
 " queen: But, in such a crime as this, and such
 " a situation as yours, the royal dignity itself,
 " neither by the civil or canon law, nor by the
 " law of nature or of nations, is exempt from
 " judgment. If you be innocent, you wrong
 " your reputation in avoiding a trial. We have
 " been present at your protestations of innocence:
 " But queen Elizabeth thinks otherwise; and is
 " heartily sorry for the appearances, which lie
 " against you. To examine, therefore, your
 " cause, she has appointed commissioners; honor-
 " able persons, prudent and upright men, who
 " are ready to hear you with equity, and even
 " with favor, and will rejoice if you can clear
 " yourself of the imputations, which have been
 " thrown upon you. Believe me, Madam, the
 " queen herself will rejoice, who affirmed to me
 " at my departure, that nothing, which ever
 " beset her, had given her so much uneasiness, as
 " that you should be suspected of a concurrence
 " in these criminal enterprises. Laying aside,

“ therefore, the fruitless claim of privilege from
 “ your royal dignity, which can now avail you
 “ nothing, trust to the better defence of your
 “ innocence, make it appear in open trial, and
 “ leave not upon your memory that stain of in-
 “ famy, which must attend your obstinate silence
 “ on this occasion’.”

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By this artful speech, Mary was persuaded to answer before the court; and thereby gave an appearance of legal procedure to the trial, and prevented those difficulties, which the commissioners must have fallen into, had she persevered in maintaining so specious a plea as that of her sovereign and independent character. Her conduct in this particular must be regarded as the more imprudent; because formerly, when Elizabeth's commissioners pretended not to exercise any jurisdiction over her, and only entered into her cause by her own consent and approbation, she declined justifying herself, when her honor, which ought to have been dearer to her than life, seemed absolutely to require it.

ON her first appearance before the commissioners, Mary, either sensible of her imprudence, or still unwilling to degrade herself by submitting to a trial; renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges: The chancellor answered her by pleading the supreme authority of the English laws over every one who resided in England: And the commissioners accommodated

The trial.

* Camden, p. 523.

C H A P. matters, by ordering both her protestation and
XLII. his answer to be recorded.

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THE lawyers of the crown then opened the charge against the queen of Scots. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed cardinal Allen and others to treat her as queen of England; and that she had kept a correspondence with lord Paget and Charles Paget, in view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom. Mary seemed not anxious to clear herself from either of these imputations. She only said, that she could not hinder others from using what style they pleased in writing to her, and that she might lawfully try every expedient for the recovery of her liberty.

AN intercepted letter of her's to Mendoza was next produced; in which she promised to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to be converted to the catholic faith; an event, she there said, of which there was no expectation, while he remained in the hands of his Scottish subjects¹⁰. Even this part of the charge, she took no pains to deny, or rather she seemed to acknowledge it. She said, that she had no kingdoms to dispose of; yet was it lawful for her to give at her pleasure what was her own, and she was not accountable to any for her actions. She added, that she had formerly rejected that proposal from Spain; but now, since all her hopes in England were gone,

¹⁰ State Trials, vol. i. p. 138.

she was fully determined not to refuse foreign assistance. There was also produced evidence to prove, that Allen and Parsons were at that very time negotiating by her orders at Rome the conditions of transferring her English crown to the king of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son ¹¹.

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It is remarkable, that Mary's prejudices against her son were, at this time, carried so far, that she had even entered into a conspiracy against him, had appointed lord Claud Hamilton regent of Scotland, and had instigated her adherents to seize James's person and deliver him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain; whence he was never to be delivered but on condition of his becoming catholic ¹².

THE only part of the charge, which Mary positively denied, was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. This article indeed was the most heavy, and the only one, that could fully justify the queen in proceeding to extremities against her. In order to prove the accusation, there were produced the following evidence: Copies taken in secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confessed, without being put to any torture, both

¹¹ See note [G] at the end of the volume.

¹² See note [H] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. XLII. 1586. that she received these letters from Babington, and that they had written the answers, by her order; the confession of Babington, that he had written the letters and received the answers¹³, and the confessions of Ballard and Savage, that Babington had showed them these letters of Mary written in the cipher, which had been settled between them.

It is evident, that this complication of evidence, though every circumstance corroborates the general conclusion, resolves itself finally into the testimony of the two secretaries, who alone were certainly acquainted with their mistress's concurrence in Babington's conspiracy, but who knew themselves exposed to all the rigors of imprisonment, torture, and death, if they refused to give any evidence, which might be required of them. In the case of an ordinary criminal, this proof, with all its disadvantages, would be esteemed legal, and even satisfactory, if not opposed by some other circumstances, which shake the credit of the witnesses: But on the present trial, where the absolute power of the prosecutor concurred with such important interests and such a violent inclination to have the princess condemned; the testimony of two witnesses, even though men of character, ought to be supported by strong probabilities, in order to remove all suspicion of tyranny and injustice. The proof against Mary, it must be confessed,

¹³ State Trials, vol. i. p. 113.

is not destitute of this advantage ; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to account for Babington's receiving an answer, written in her name, and in the cipher concerted between them, without allowing, that the matter had been communicated to that princess. Such is the light in which this matter appears, even after time has discovered every thing, which could guide our judgment with regard to it; No wonder, therefore, that the queen of Scots, unassisted by counsel, and confounded by so extraordinary a trial, found herself incapable of making a satisfactory defence before the commissioners. Her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial: Whatever force may be in that denial was much weakened, by her positively affirming, that she never had had any correspondence of any kind with Babington; a fact, however, of which there remains not the least question¹⁴. She asserted, that, as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence against her ought not to be credited. She confessed, however, that Nau had been in the service of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and had been recommended to her by the king of France, as a man in whom she might safely confide. She also acknowledged Curle to be a very honest man, but simple, and easily imposed on by Nau. If these two men had received any letters, or had written any answers, without her know-

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¹⁴ See note [I] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. ledge; the imputation, she said, could never lie
 XLII. on her. And she was the more inclined, she
 1586. added, to entertain this suspicion against them, because Nau had, in other instances, been guilty of a like temerity, and had ventured to transact business in her name, without communicating the matter to her ¹⁵.

THE sole circumstance of her defence, which to us may appear to have some force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle should be confronted with her, and her affirming that they never would to her face persist in their evidence. But that demand, however equitable, was not then supported by law in trials of high-treason, and was often refused even in other trials, where the crown was prosecutor. The clause, contained in an act of the 13th of the queen, was a novelty; that the species of treason there enumerated must be proved by two witnesses, confronted with the criminal. But Mary was not tried upon that act; and the ministers and crown lawyers of this reign were always sure to refuse every indulgence beyond what the strict letter of the law and the settled practice of the courts of justice required of them. Not to mention, that these secretaries were not probably at Fotheringay-castle during the time of the trial, and could not, upon Mary's demand, be produced before the commissioners ¹⁶.

¹⁵ See note [K] at the end of the volume.

¹⁶ Queen Elizabeth was willing to have allowed Curle and Nau to be produced in the trial, and writes to that

THERE

THERE passed two incidents in this trial, C H A P.
XLII.
1586. which may be worth observing. A letter between Mary and Babington was read, in which mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers: On hearing their names she broke into a sigh, "Alas," said she, "what has the noble house of the Howards suffered for my sake!" She affirmed, with regard to the same letter, that it was easy to forge the hand-writing and cipher of another; she was afraid, that this was too familiar a practice with Walsingham, who, she also heard, had frequently practised both against her life and her son's. Walsingham, who was one of the commissioners, rose up. He protested, that, in his private capacity, he had never acted any thing against the queen of Scots: In his public capacity, he owned, that his concern for his sovereign's safety had made him very diligent in searching out, by every expedient, all designs against her sacred person or her authority. For attaining that end, he would not only make use of the assistance of Ballard or any other conspirator: He would also reward them for betraying their companions. But if he had tampered in any manner, unbefitting his character and office, why did none of the late criminals, either at their

purpose, to Burleigh and Walsingham, in her letter of the 7th of October, in Forbes's MS. collections. She only says, that she thinks it needless, though she was willing to agree to it. The not confronting of the witnesses was not the result of design, but the practice of the age.

C H A P. trial or execution, accuse him of such practices?

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Mary endeavoured to pacify him, by saying that she spoke from information; and she begged him to give thenceforth no more credit to such as slandered her, than she should to such as accused him. The great character indeed, which Sir Francis Walsingham bears for probity and honor, should remove from him all suspicion of such base arts as forgery and subornation; arts, which even the most corrupt ministers, in the most corrupt times, would scruple to employ.

25th Octob.

HAVING finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay-castle, and met in the Star Chamber at London; where after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who, voluntarily, without hope or reward, vouched the authenticity of those letters before produced, they pronounced sentence of death upon the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day, a declaration was published by the commissioners and the judges, "that the sentence did nowise derogate from the title and honor of James, king of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced".¹⁷

Sentence
against
Mary.

THE queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that situation, which she had long ardently desired; and had found a plausible reason for executing vengeance on a competitor, whom,

¹⁷ Camden, p. 526.

from the beginning of her reign, she had ever equally dreaded and hated. But she was restrained from instantly gratifying her resentment, by several important considerations. She foresaw the invidious colors, in which this example of uncommon jurisdiction would be represented by the numerous partisans of Mary, and the reproach, to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. The rights of hospitality, of kindred, and of royal majesty, seemed, in one signal instance, to be all violated; and this sacrifice of generosity to interest, of clemency to revenge, might appear equally unbecoming a sovereign and a woman. Elizabeth, therefore, who was an excellent hypocrite, pretended the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence: affected the most tender sympathy with her prisoner; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected the solicitation of her courtiers and ministers; and affirmed, that, were she not moved by the deepest concern for her people's safety, she would not hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries, which she herself had received from the queen of Scots.

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THAT the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of justice upon Mary, she summoned a new parliament; and she knew, both from the usual dispositions of that assembly, and from the influence of her ministers over them, that she should not want the most earnest solicitation to consent to that measure,

29th Octob.

C H A P. XLII. 1586. which was so agreeable to her secret inclinations. She did not open this assembly in person, but appointed for that purpose three commissioners, Bromley, the chancellor, Burleigh, the treasurer, and the earl of Derby. The reason assigned for this measure, was, that the queen foreseeing that the affair of the queen of Scots would be canvassed in parliament, found her tenderness and delicacy so much hurt by that melancholy incident, that she had not the courage to be present while it was under deliberation, but withdrew her eyes from what she could not behold without the utmost reluctance and uneasiness. She was also willing, that, by this unusual precaution, the people should see the danger, to which her person was hourly exposed; and should thence be more strongly incited to take vengeance on the criminal, whose restless intrigues and bloody conspiracies had so long exposed her to the most imminent perils¹⁸.

THE parliament answered the queen's expectations: The sentence against Mary was unanimously ratified by both houses; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's consent to its publication and execution¹⁹. She gave an answer ambiguous, embarrassed; full of real artifice, and seeming irresolution. She mentioned the extreme danger to which her life was continually exposed; she declared her willingness to die, did she not foresee the great calamities,

¹⁸ D'Ewes, p. 375.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 379.

which would thence fall upon the nation; she made professions of the greatest tenderness to her people; she displayed the clemency of her temper, and expressed her violent reluctance to execute the sentence against her unhappy kinswoman; she affirmed, that the late law, by which that princess was tried, so far from being made to insnare her, was only intended to give her warning beforehand, not to engage in such attempts, as might expose her to the penalties, with which she was thus openly menaced; and she begged them to think once again, whether it were possible to find any expedient, besides the death of the queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity^{2o}. The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under consideration; but could find no other possible expedient. They reiterated their solicitations, and entreaties, and arguments: They even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects and children: And they affirmed, that it were injustice to deny execution of the law to any individual; much more to the whole body of the people, now unanimously and earnestly suing for this pledge of her parental care and tenderness. This second address set the pretended doubts and scruples of Elizabeth a-new in agitation: She complained of her own unfortunate situation; expressed her uneasiness from their importunity;

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^{2o} D'Ewes, p. 402, 403.

C H A P. renewed the professions of affection to her people ;
 XLII. and dismissed the committee of parliament in an
 1586. uncertainty , what , after all this deliberation ,
 might be her final resolution ²¹.

BUT though the queen affected reluctance to execute the sentence against Mary, she complied with the request of parliament in publishing it by proclamation ; and this act seemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people. Lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk of the council, were sent to the queen of Scots, and notified to her the sentence pronounced against her, its ratification by parliament, and the earnest applications made for its execution by that assembly, who thought, that their religion could never, while she was alive, attain a full settlement and security. Mary was nowise dismayed at this intelligence: On the contrary, she joyfully laid hold of the last circumstance mentioned to her ; and insisted, that, since her death was demanded by the protestants for the establishment of their faith, she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. She added, that the English had often embrued their hands in the blood of their sovereigns : No wonder, they exercised cruelty against her, who derived her descent from these monarchs ²². Paulet, her keeper, received orders to take down

²¹ See note [L] at the end of the volume.

²² Camden, p. 528.

her canopy, and to serve her no longer with the respect due to sovereign princes. He told her, that she was now to be considered as a dead person; and incapable of any dignity²³. This harsh treatment produced not in her any seeming emotion. She only replied, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power was ever able to bereave her of it.

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THE queen of Scots wrote her last letter to Elizabeth; full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity, which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life. She preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence: On the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She requested some favors of Elizabeth, and entreated her, that she might be beholden for them to her own goodness alone, without making applications to those ministers, who had discovered such an extreme malignity against her person and her religion. She desired, that, after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body, which, it was determined, should never enjoy rest, while her soul was united to it, might be consigned to her servants, and be conveyed by them into France, there to repose in a catholic land, with the sacred relics of her mother. In Scotland, she

²³ Jebb, vol. ii. p. 293.

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said, the sepulchres of her ancestors were violated, and the churches either demolished or profaned; and in England, where she might be interred among the ancient kings, her own and Elizabeth's progenitors, she could entertain no hopes of being accompanied to the grave with those rites and ceremonies, which her religion required. She requested, that no one might have the power of inflicting a private death upon her, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but that her execution should be public, and attended by her ancient servants, who might bear testimony of her perseverance in the faith, and of her submission to the will of Heaven. She begged, that these servants might afterwards be allowed to depart whithersoever they pleased, and might enjoy those legacies, which she should bequeath them. And she conjured her to grant these favors, by their near kindred; by the soul and memory of Henry VII. the common ancestor of both; and by the royal dignity, of which they equally participated²⁴. Elizabeth made no answer to this letter; being unwilling to give Mary a refusal in her present situation, and foreseeing inconveniences from granting some of her requests.

WHILE the queen of Scots thus prepared herself to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers with Elizabeth to prevent the execution of the sentence, pronounced against her. Besides employing L'Aubespine, the French resi-

²⁴ Camden, p. 529. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 295

dent at London, a creature of the house of Guise, Henry sent over Bellievre, with a professed intention of interceding for the life of Mary. The duke of Guise and the league, at that time, threatened very nearly the king's authority; and Elizabeth knew, that, though that monarch might, from decency and policy, think himself obliged to interpose publicly in behalf of the queen of Scots, he could not secretly be much displeased with the death of a princess, on whose fortune and elevation his mortal enemies had always founded so many daring and ambitious projects²⁵. It is even pretended, that Bellievre had orders, after making public and vehement remonstrances against the execution of Mary, to exhort privately the queen, in his master's name, not to defer an act of justice, so necessary for their common safety²⁶. But whether the French king's intercession were sincere or not, it had no weight with the queen; and she still persisted in her former resolution.

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1586.

THE interposition of the young king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, seemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As soon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent Sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London; and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated, in very severe terms, against the indignity of the procedure. He said, that he

Interposi-
tion of king
James.

²⁵ Camden, p. 494. ²⁶ Du Maurier.

C H A P. was astonished to hear of the presumption of
XLII. English noblemen and counsellors, who had
1586. dared to sit in judgment and pass sentence upon
a queen of Scotland, descended from the blood
royal of England; but he was still more astonish-
ed to hear, that thoughts were seriously enter-
tained of putting that sentence in execution:
That he entreated Elizabeth to reflect on the
dishonor, which she would draw on her name by
embruining her hands in the blood of her near
kinswoman, a person of the same royal dignity
and of the same sex with herself: That, in this
unparalleled attempt, she offered an affront to all
diadems, and even to her own; and by reducing
sovereigns to a level with other men, taught the
people to neglect all duty towards those whom
Providence had appointed to rule over them:
That for his part, he must deem the injury and
insult so enormous, as to be incapable of all
atonement; nor was it possible for him thencefor-
ward to remain in any terms of correspondence
with a person, who, without any pretence of
legal authority, had deliberately inflicted an igno-
minious death upon his parent: And that, even
if the sentiments of nature and duty did not in-
spire him with this purpose of vengeance, his
honor required it of him; nor could he ever ac-
quit himself in the eyes of the world, if he did
not use every effort, and endure every hazard,
to revenge so great an indignity²⁷.

SOON after, James sent the master of Gray and

²⁷ Spotswood, p. 351.

Sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith; and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth was at first offended with the sharpness of these applications; and she replied in a like strain to the Scottish ambassadors. When she afterwards reflected, that this earnestness was no more than what duty required of James, she was pacified; but still retained her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary²⁸. It is believed, that the master of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his master.

THE queen also, from many considerations, was induced to pay small attention to the applications of James, and to disregard all the efforts, which he could employ in behalf of his mother. She was well acquainted with his character and interests, the factions which prevailed among his people, and the inveterate hatred, which the zealous protestants, particularly the preachers, bore to the queen of Scots. The present incidents set these dispositions of the clergy in a full light. James, observing the fixed purpose of Elizabeth, ordered prayers to be offered up for Mary in all the churches; and knowing the captious humor of the ecclesiastics, he took care that the form of the petition should be most cautious, as well as humane and charitable:

²⁸ Spotswood, p. 353.

C H A P. XLII. 1586. " That it might please God to illuminate Mary
" with the light of his truth, and save her from
" the apparent danger, with which she was threat-
" ened." But, excepting the king's own chap-
lains, and one clergyman more, all the preach-
ers refused to pollute their churches by prayers
for a papist, and would not so much as prefer a
petition for her conversion. James, unwilling
or unable to punish this disobedience, and
desirous of giving the preachers an opportunity
of amending their fault, appointed a new
day when prayers should be said for his mo-
ther; and that he might at least secure himself
from any insult in his own presence, he desired
the archbishop of St. Andrew's to officiate before
him. In order to disappoint this purpose, the
clergy instigated one Couper, a young man,
who had not yet received holy orders, to take
possession of the pulpit early in the morning, and
to exclude the prelate. When the king came to
church, and saw the pulpit occupied by Couper,
he called to him from his seat, and told him,
that the place was destined for another; yet since
he was there, if he would obey the charge
given, and remember the queen in his prayers,
he might proceed to divine service. The preacher
replied, that he would do as the Spirit of God
should direct him. This answer sufficiently in-
structed James in his purpose; and he commanded
him to leave the pulpit. As Couper seemed not
disposed to obey, the captain of the guard went
to pull him from his place; upon which the young

man cried aloud, That this day would be a witness against the king in the great day of the Lord; and he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for permitting him to be treated in that manner²⁹. The audience at first appeared desirous to take part with him; but the sermon of the prelate brought them over to a more dutiful and more humane disposition.

ELIZABETH, when solicited, either by James or by foreign princes, to pardon the queen of Scots, seemed always determined to execute the sentence against her: But when her ministers urged her to interpose no more delays, her scruples and her hesitation returned; her humanity could not allow her to embrace such violent and sanguinary measures; and she was touched with compassion for the misfortunes, and with respect for the dignity, of the unhappy prisoner. The courtiers, sensible that they could do nothing more acceptable to her than to employ persuasion on this head, failed not to enforce every motive for the punishment of Mary, and to combat all the objections urged against this act of justice. They said, that the treatment of that princess in England had been, on her first reception, such as sound reason and policy required; and if she had been governed by principles of equity, she would not have refused willingly to acquiesce in it: That the obvious inconveniences, either of allowing her to retire into France, or of restoring her by force

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XLII.

1586.

Reasons for
the execu-
tion of
Mary.

²⁹ Spotswood, [p. 354.

C H A P. XLII. 1586. to her throne, in opposition to the reformers and the English party in Scotland, had obliged the queen to detain her in England, till time should offer some opportunity of serving her, without danger to the kingdom, or to the protestant religion: That her usage there had been such as became her rank; her own servants, in considerable numbers, had been permitted to attend her; exercise had been allowed her for health, and all access of company for amusement; and these indulgences would, in time, have been carried farther, if by her subsequent conduct she had appeared worthy of them: That after she had instigated the rebellion of Northumberland, the conspiracy of Norfolk, the bull of excommunication of pope Pius, an invasion from Flanders; after she had seduced the queen's friends, and incited every enemy, foreign and domestic, against her; it became necessary to treat her as a most dangerous rival, and to render her confinement more strict and rigorous: That the queen, notwithstanding these repeated provocations, had, in her favor, rejected the importunity of her parliaments, and the advice of her sagest ministers³⁰; and was still, in hopes of her amendment, determined to delay coming to the last extremities against her: That Mary, even in this forlorn condition, retained so high and unconquerable a spirit, that she acted as competitor to the crown, and allowed her partisans every where, and in

³⁰ Digges, p. 276. Strype, vol. ii. p. 48. 135, 136. 139.

their very letters, addrest to herself, to treat her as queen of England: That she had carried her animosity so far as to encourage, in repeated instances, the atrocious design of assassinating the queen; and this crime was unquestionably proved upon her, by her own letters by the evidence of her secretaries, and by the dying confession of her accomplices: That she was but a titular queen, and at present possessed no where any right of sovereignty; much less in England, where, the moment she set foot in the kingdom, she voluntarily became subject to the laws, and to Elizabeth, the only true sovereign: That even allowing her to be still the queen's equal in rank and dignity, self-defence was permitted by a law of nature, which could never be abrogated; and every one, still more a queen, had sufficient jurisdiction over an enemy, who, by open violence, and still more, who, by secret treachery, threatened the utmost danger against her life: That the general combination of the catholics to exterminate the protestants, was no longer a secret; and as the sole resource of the latter persecuted sect lay in Elizabeth, so the chief hope, which the former entertained of final success, consisted in the person, and in the title of the queen of Scots: That this very circumstance brought matters to extremity between these princesses; and rendering the life of one the death of the other, pointed out to Elizabeth the path, which either regard to self-preservation, or to the happiness of her people, should direct her to pursue: And that necessity,

C H A P.

XLII.

1586

C H A P. more powerful than policy, thus demanded of
 XLII. the queen that resolution, which equity would
 1586. authorize, and which duty prescribed ³¹.

WHEN Elizabeth thought, that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution: But even in this final resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, rumors were previously dispersed, that the Spanish fleet was arrived in Milford Haven; that the Scots had made an irruption into England; that the duke of Guise was landed in Suffex with a strong army; that the queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the queen, and set the city of London on fire; nay, that the queen was actually assassinated ³². An attempt of this nature was even imputed to L'Aubespine, the French ambassador; and that minister was obliged to leave the kingdom. The queen, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent; and sometimes to mutter to herself half sentences, importing the difficulty and distress, to which she was reduced ³³. She at last called Davison, a man of parts, but easy to be

³¹ Camden, p. 533. ³² Ibid. ³³ Ibid. p. 534.

imposed on, and who had lately, for that very reason, been made secretary, and she ordered him privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made for the deliverance of that princess. She signed the warrant; and then commanded Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great seal appended to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear, some time, executing her former orders; and when Davison came and told her, that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison, being in perplexity, acquainted the council with this whole transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send off Beale with the warrant: If the queen should be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure³⁴. The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with the advice; and the warrant was dispatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them

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1586.

³⁴ It appears by some letters published by Strype, vol. iii. book ii. c. i. that Elizabeth had not expressly communicated her intention to any of her ministers, not even to Burleigh: They were such experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her more than by serving her without waiting till she desired them.

C H A P. to see the sentence executed upon the queen of
 XLII. Scots.

1587.
 7th Feb.
 The execu-
 tion.

THE two earls came to Fotheringay - castle, and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed nowise terrified, though somewhat surprised, with the intelligence. She said, with a chearful, and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person, not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But as such is her will," said she, "death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven, which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to these blisful mansions³⁵." She then requested the two noblemen, that they would permit some of her servants, and particularly her confessor, to attend her: But they told her, that compliance with this last demand was contrary to their conscience³⁶, and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, a man of great learning, should be present, to instruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the zeal of the earl of Kent; and he bluntly told her, that her death would

³⁵ Camden, p. 534. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 301. MS. in the Advocates' Library, p. 2. from the Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 9.

³⁶ Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302.

be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, c H A P.
her life would have been the death of it. Men- XLII.
tion being made of Babington, she constantly 1587.
denied his conspiracy to have been at all known
to her; and the revenge of her wrongs, she re-
signed into the hands of the Almighty.

WHEN the earls had left her, she ordered sup-
per to be hastened, that she might have the more
leisure, after it, to finish the few affairs which
remained to her in this world, and to prepare
for her passage to an other. It was necessary for
her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a
failure of her bodily strength should depress her
spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour
should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of
herself³⁷. She supped sparingly, as her manner
usually was; and her wonted chearfulness did not
even desert her on this occasion. She comforted
her servants under the affliction which over-
whelmed them, and which was too violent for
them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin,
her physician, she asked him, Whether he did
not remark the great and invincible force of truth?
“ They pretend,” said she, “ that I must die,
“ because I conspired against their queen’s life:
“ But the earl of Kent avowed, that there was
“ no other cause of my death, than the appre-
“ hensions, which, if I should live, they entertain
“ for their religion. My constancy in the faith
“ is my real crime: The rest is only a color,

³⁷ Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

C H A P. "invented by interested and designing men."

XLII.

1587.

Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them: They pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: She deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveness³⁸.

MARY'S care of her servants was the sole remaining affair, which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: She ordered the inventory of her goods, clothes, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: To some she distributed money with her own hands and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king, and to her cousin, the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had had the precaution to obtain a consecrated host from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as

³⁸ Jebb, vol. ii. p. 302. 626. Camden, p. 534.

she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her³⁹.

C H A P.

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1587.

TOWARDS the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them this dress rather than the plain garb which she wore the day before: But it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

THOMAS ANDREWS, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her, that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, That she was ready; and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed countenance. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who flung himself on his knees before her; and, wringing his hands, cried aloud, "Ah, Madam! unhappy me! what man
" was ever before the messenger of such heavy
" tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to
" my native country, and shall report, that I
" saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded

³⁹ Jebb, vol. ii. p. 489.

C H A P. XLII. 1587. " in England ? " His tears prevented farther speech ; and Mary too felt herself moved , more from sympathy than affliction . " Cease , my good " servant , " said she , " cease to lament : Thou " hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn : " For now shalt thou see the troubles of Mary " Stuart receive their long expected period and " completion . Know , " continued she , " good " servant , that all the world at best is vanity , " and subject still to more sorrow than a whole " ocean of tears is able to bewail . But I pray " thee , carry this message from me , that I die " a true woman to my religion , and unalterable " in my affections to Scotland and to France . " Heaven forgive them , that have long desired " my end , and have thirsted for my blood as " the hart panteth after the water brooks . " " O " God , " added she , " thou that art the author " of truth , and truth itself , thou knowest the " inmost recesses of my heart : Thou knowest " that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire " union between Scotland and England , and to " obviate the source of all these fatal discords . " But recommend me , Melvil , to my son , and " tell him , that , notwithstanding all my distresses , " I have done nothing prejudicial to the state " and kingdom of Scotland . " After these words , reclining herself , with weeping eyes , and face bedewed with tears , she kissed him . " And so , " said she , " good Melvil , farewell : Once again ,

“farewel, good Melvil; and grant the assistance
“of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress⁴⁰.”

C H A P.

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1587.

SHE next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having received a favorable answer, she preferred another request, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: In order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execution, and how constantly she perseveres in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent opposed this desire, and told her, that they would be apt, by their speeches and cries, to disturb both herself and the spectators: He was also apprehensive, lest they should practise some superstition, not meet for him to suffer, such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: For that was the instance which he made use of. “My lord,” said the queen of Scots, “I will give my word (although it be but dead) “that they shall not incur any blame in any of “the actions which you have named. But alas! “poor souls! it would be a great consolation to “them to bid their mistress farewell. And I “hope,” added she, “that your mistress, being “a maiden queen, would vouchsafe, in regard “of womanhood, that I should have some of

⁴⁰ MS. p. 4. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 634. Strype, vol. iii. p. 384.

C H A P. “ my own people about me at my death. I
 XLII. “ know , that her majesty hath not given you
 1587. “ any such strict command , but that you might
 “ grant me a request of far greater courtesy,
 “ even though I were a woman of inferior rank
 “ to that which I bear.” Finding that the earl
 of Kent persisted still in his refusal , her mind,
 which had fortified itself against the terrors of
 death , was affected by this indignity, for which
 she was not prepared. “ I am cousin to your
 “ queen,” cried she, “and descended from the blood-
 “ royal of Henry VII. and a married queen of
 “ France, and an anointed queen of Scotland.”
 The commissioners , perceiving how invidious
 their obstinacy would appear, conferred a little to-
 gether and agreed, that she might carry a few of
 her servants along with her. She made choice
 of four men, and two maid-servants , for that
 purpose.

SHE then passed into another hall, where was
 erected the scaffold, covered with black; and she
 saw , with an undismayed countenance , the
 executioners, and all the preparations of death.
 The room was crowded with spectators; and no
 one was so steeled against all sentiments of human-
 ity, as not to be moved, when he reflected
 on her royal dignity , considered the surprising
 train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but in-
 flexible constancy, recalled her amiable accom-
 plishments , or surveyed her beauties , which,
 though faded by years, and yet more by her
 afflictions, still discovered themselves in this fatal

moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent, but showed, in her behaviour, an indifference and unconcern, as if the business had nowise regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborough stepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him, that he needed not concern himself about her, that she was settled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith; he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her conversion. The terms, which he employed, were, under color of pious instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities, to which she had ever yet been exposed. He told her, that the queen of England had on this occasion shown a tender care of her; and notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her, for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction, with which it was so nearly threatened: That she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, than by repenting her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favors, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: That the scriptures were the only rule of

C H A P.

XLII.

1587.

C H A P. doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of
 XLII. salvation; and if she trusted in the inventions or
 1587. devices of men, she must expect in an instant to
 fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall
 be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth:
 That the hand of death was upon her, the ax
 was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of
 the great judge of heaven was erected, the book
 of her life was spread wide, and the particular
 sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounc-
 ed upon her: And that it was now, during this
 important moment, in her choice, either to rise
 to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful
 salutation, *Come, ye blessed of my Father*, or to
 share the resurrection of condemnation, replete
 with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that
 dreadful denunciation, *Go, ye cursed, into ever-
 lasting fire*⁴¹.

DURING this discourse Mary could not some-
 times forbear betraying her impatience, by in-
 terrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding
 that he had profited nothing by his lecture, at
 last bade her change her opinion, repent her of
 her former wickedness, and settle her faith upon
 this ground, that only in Christ Jesus could she
 hope to be saved. She answered, again and
 again, with great earnestness: "Trouble not
 " yourself any more about the matter: For I
 " was born in this religion; I have lived in this
 " religion; and in this religion I am resolved to die."
 Even the two earls perceived, that it was fruit-

⁴¹ MS. p. 8, 9, 10, 11. Strype, vol. iii. p. 385.

less to harass her any farther with theological disputes; and they ordered the dean to desist from his unseasonable exhortations, and to pray for her conversion. During the dean's prayer, she employed herself in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finished, she pronounced aloud some petitions in English, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her son, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princess might long prosper, and be employed in his service. The earl of Kent, observing, that, in her devotions, she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popish trumpery, as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand⁴². She replied with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched with some compunction⁴³.

SHE now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself; and the executioner also lent his hand, to assist them. She smiled, and said, That she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations: She turned about to them; put her finger upon

⁴² MS. p. 15. Jebb, vol. ii. p. 307. 491. 637.

⁴³ Jebb, Ibid.

C H A P. her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them⁴⁴;
 XLII. and having given them her blessing, desired them
 1537. to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she
 had appointed for that purpose, covered her
 eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down,
 without any sign of fear or trepidation; and her
 head was severed from her body at two strokes
 by the executioner. He instantly held it up to
 the spectators, streaming with blood and agitated
 with the convulsions of death: The dean of Pe-
 terborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen
 " Elizabeth's enemies:" The earl of Kent alone
 replied "Amen:" The attention of all the other
 spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene
 before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave
 place to present pity and admiration of the ex-
 piring princess.

Mary's Cha-
 racter.

THUS perished, in the forty-fifth year of her
 age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England,
 Mary queen of Scots; a woman of great ac-
 complishments both of body and mind, natural as
 well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and
 during one period, very unhappy in her conduct.
 The beauties of her person and graces of her air
 combined to make her the most amiable of women;
 and the charms of her address and conversation
 aided the impression, which her lovely figure made
 on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and
 active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness
 and society; of a lofty spirit, constant and even

⁴⁴ Jebb, p. 307. 492.

vehement in her purpose, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanour; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces, which compose the proper ornament of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of passion, and of the influence, which situations, and sometimes momentary incidents, have on persons, whose principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her husband, seduced by the treacherous counsels of one in whom she reposed confidence, transported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay sufficiently under the guidance of discretion; she was betrayed into actions, which may, with some difficulty, be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct must, in some parts, wear the aspect of severe satire and invective.

HER numerous misfortunes, the solitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the persecutions, to which she had been exposed on account of

C H A P.

XLII.

1587.

C H A P. her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of
 XLII. bigotry during her later years; and such were
 1587. the prevalent spirit and principles of the age,
 that it is the less wonder, if her zeal, her resentment,
 and her interest uniting, induced her to
 give consent to a design, which conspirators,
 actuated only by the first of these motives, had
 formed against the life of Elizabeth.

The queen's
 affected sor-
 row.

WHEN the queen was informed of Mary's
 execution, she affected the utmost surprise and
 indignation. Her countenance changed; her
 speech faltered and failed her; for a long time,
 her sorrow was so deep that she could not
 express it, but stood fixed, like a statue, in
 silence and mute astonishment. After her grief
 was able to find vent, it burst out in loud wail-
 ings and lamentations; she put herself in deep
 mourning for this deplorable event; and she was
 seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded
 only by her maids and women. None of her
 ministers or counsellors dared to approach her;
 or if any had such temerity, she chased them
 from her, with the most violent expressions of
 rage and resentment: They had all of them
 been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting
 to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary
 to her fixed purpose⁴⁵, of which they were
 sufficiently apprized and acquainted.

No sooner was her sorrow so much abated as

⁴⁵ Camden, p. 536. Strype, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 145.
 Jebb, vol. ii. p. 608.

to leave room for reflection, than she wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Cary, son of lord Hunsdon. She there told him, that she wished he knew, but not felt, the unutterable grief which she experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much less concurrence, had happened in England: That as her pen trembled, when she attempted to write it, she found herself obliged to commit the relation of it to the messenger, her kinsman; who would likewise inform his majesty of every circumstance, attending this dismal and unlooked for misfortune: That she appealed to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was also so happy, amidst her other afflictions, as to find, that many persons in her court could bear witness to her veracity in this protestation: That she abhorred dissimulation: deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a sincere and open conduct; and could never surely be esteemed so base and poor-spirited, as that, if she had really given orders for this fatal execution, she could, on any consideration, be induced to deny them: That, though sensible of the justice of the sentence pronounced against the unhappy prisoner, she determined from clemency never to carry it into execution; and could not but resent the temerity of those, who on this occasion had disappointed her intention: And that as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare; she hoped,

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C H A P. XLII. 1587. that he would consider every one as his enemy, who endeavoured, on account of the present incident, to excite any animosity between them ⁴⁶.

IN order the better to appease James, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-Chamber for his misdemeanour. The secretary was confounded; and being sensible of the danger, which must attend his entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted very patiently to be railed at by those very counsellors, whose persuasion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. All the favor, which he could obtain from the queen, was sending him small supplies from time to time, to keep him from perishing in necessity ⁴⁷. He privately wrote an apology to his friend Walsingham, which contains many curious particulars. The French and Scotch ambassadors, he said, had been remonstrating with the queen in Mary's behalf; and immediately after their departure, she commanded him, of her own accord, to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princess.

⁴⁶ Camden, p. 536. Spotswood, p. 358.

⁴⁷ Camden, p. 538

She

She signed it readily, and ordered it to be sealed with the great seal of England. She appeared in such good humor on the occasion, that she said to him in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick: Though I fear he will die of sorrow, when he hears of it." She added, that, though she had so long delayed the execution, lest she should seem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, she was all along sensible of the necessity of it. In the same conversation, she blamed Drury and Paulet, that they had not before eased her of this trouble, and she expressed her desire, that Walsingham would bring them to compliance in that particular. She was so bent on this purpose, that, some time after, she asked Davison, Whether any letter had come from Paulet with regard to the service expected of him? Davison showed her Paulet's letter; in which that gentleman positively refused to act any thing inconsistent with the principles of honor and justice. The queen fell into a passion; and accused Paulet, as well as Drury, of perjury; because, having taken the oath of association, in which they had bound themselves to avenge her wrongs, they had yet refused to lend their hand on this occasion. "But others," she said, "will be found less scrupulous." Davison adds, that nothing but the consent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to send off the warrant: He was well aware of his danger; and remembered, that the queen, after

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having ordered the execution of the duke of Norfolk, had endeavoured, in a like manner, to throw the whole blame and odium of that action upon lord Burleigh⁴⁶.

ELIZABETH's dissimulation was so gross, that it could deceive nobody, who was not previously resolved to be blinded; but as James's concern for his mother was certainly more sincere and cordial, he discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Cary into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England; and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The States of Scotland, being assembled, took part in his anger; and professed, that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. Many of his nobility instigated him to take arms: Lord Sinclair, when the courtiers appeared in deep mourning, presented himself to the king arrayed in complete armor, and said, that this was the proper mourning for the queen. The catholics took the opportunity of exhorting James to make an alliance with the king of Spain, to lay immediate claim to the crown of England, and to prevent the ruin, which, from his mother's example, he might conclude, would certainly, if Elizabeth's power prevailed, overwhelm his

⁴⁶ Camden, p. 538. Strype, vol. iii. p. 375, 376. MS. in the Advocates' Library, A. 3.128. p. 17. from the Cott. Lib. Calig. c. 9. Biogr. Brit. p. 1625. 1627.

person and his kingdom. The queen was sensible of the danger attending these counsels; and after allowing James some decent interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to pacify him, and to set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her.

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WALSINGHAM wrote to lord Thirlstone, James's secretary, a judicious letter to the same purpose. He said, that he was much surprised to hear of the violent resolutions taken in Scotland, and of the passion discovered by a prince of so much judgment and temper as James: That a war, founded merely on the principle of revenge, and that too on account of an act of justice which necessity had extorted, would for ever be exposed to censure, and could not be excused by any principles of equity or reason: That if these views were deemed less momentous among princes, policy and interest ought certainly to be attended to; and these motives did still more evidently oppose all thoughts of a rupture with Elizabeth, and all revival of exploded claims to the English throne: That the inequality between the two kingdoms deprived James of any hopes of success, if he trusted merely to the force of his own state, and had no recourse to foreign powers for assistance: That the objections, attending the introduction of succours from a more potent monarch, appeared so evident from all the transactions of history, that they could not escape a person of the King's extensive knowledge; but

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C H A P. there were, in the present case, several peculiar
 XLII. circumstances, which ought for ever to deter
 1587. him from having recourse to so dangerous an
 expedient: That the French monarch, the ancient
 ally of Scotland, might willingly use the assistance
 of that kingdom against England; but would
 be displeased to see the union of these two king-
 doms in the person of James; a union, which
 would ever after exclude him from practising
 that policy, formerly so useful to the French,
 and so pernicious to the Scottish, nation: That
 Henry besides, infested with faction and domestic
 war, was not in a condition of supporting distant
 allies; much less would he expose himself to any
 hazard or expence, in order to aggrandize a
 near kinsman of the house of Guise, the most
 determined enemies of his repose and authority:
 That the extensive power and exorbitant ambi-
 tion of the Spanish monarch rendered him a still
 more dangerous ally to Scotland; and as he
 evidently aspired to a universal monarchy in
 the west, and had in particular advanced some
 claims to England, as if he were descended from
 the house of Lancaster, he was at the same time
 the common enemy of all princes, who wished
 to maintain their independence; and the imme-
 diate rival and competitor of the king of Scots:
 That the queen, by her own naval power, and
 her alliance with the Hollanders, would probably
 intercept all succours which might be sent to
 James from abroad, and be enabled to decide the
 controversy in this island with the superior forces

of her own kingdom, opposed to those of Scotland: That if the king revived his mother's pretensions to the crown of England, he must also embrace her religion, by which alone they could be justified; and must thereby undergo the infamy of abandoning those principles, in which he had been strictly educated, and to which he had hitherto religiously adhered: That as he would, by such an apostacy, totally alienate all the protestants in Scotland and England, he could never gain the confidence of the catholics, who would still entertain reasonable doubts of his sincerity: That by advancing a present claim to the crown, he forfeited the certain prospect of his succession; and revived that national animosity, which the late peace and alliance between the kingdoms had happily extinguished: That the whole gentry and nobility of England had openly declared themselves for the execution of the queen of Scots; and if James showed such violent resentment against that act of justice, they would be obliged, for their own security, to prevent for ever so implacable a prince from ruling over them: And that, however some persons might represent his honor as engaged to seek vengeance for the present affront and injury, the true honor of a prince consisted in wisdom and moderation and justice, not in following the dictates of blind passion, or in pursuing revenge at the expence of every motive and every interest⁴⁹. These considerations, joined to the peace-

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⁴⁹ Strype, vol. iii. p. 377. Spotswood.

C H A P. able, unambitious temper of the young prince,
 XLII. prevailed over his resentment; and he fell gradually
 1587. into a good correspondence with the court of
 England. It is probable, that the queen's chief
 object in her dissimulation with regard to the
 execution of Mary, was, that she might thereby
 afford James a decent pretence for renewing his
 amity with her, on which their mutual interests
 so much depended.

WHILE Elizabeth ensured tranquillity from the
 attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not
 negligent of more distant dangers. Hearing that
 Philip, though he seemed to dissemble the daily
 insults and injuries, which he received from the
 English, was secretly preparing a great navy to
 attack her; she sent Sir Francis Drake with a
 fleet to intercept his supplies, to pillage his coast,
 and to destroy his shipping. Drake carried out
 four capital ships of the queen's, and twenty-six,
 great and small, with which the London merchants,
 in hopes of sharing in the plunder, had supplied
 him. Having learned from two Dutch ships,
 which he met with in his passage, that a Spanish
 fleet, richly laden, was lying at Cadiz, ready
 to set sail for Lisbon, the rendezvous of the
 intended Armada; he bent his course to the
 former harbour, and boldly, as well as fortun-
 ately, made an attack on the enemy. He obliged
 six gallies, which made head against him, to
 take shelter under the forts; he burned about a
 hundred vessels, laden with ammunition and
 naval stores; and he destroyed a great ship of

Drake de-
 stroys the
 fleet at Ca-
 diz.

the marquis of Santa Croce. Thence, he set sail for Cape St. Vincent, and took by assault the castle situated on that promontory, with three other fortresses. He next insulted Lisbon; and finding, that the merchants, who had engaged entirely in expectation of profit, were discontented at these military enterprises, he set sail for the Terceras, with an intention of lying in wait for a rich Carac, which was expected in those parts. He was so fortunate as to meet with his prize; and by this short expedition, in which the public bore so small a share, the adventurers were encouraged to attempt farther enterprises, the English seamen learned to despise the great unwieldy ships of the enemy, the naval preparations of Spain were destroyed, the intended expedition against England was retarded a twelve-month, and the queen thereby had leisure to take more secure measures against that formidable invasion ⁵⁰.

THIS year Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Devonshire, who had dissipated a good estate by living at court, being resolved to repair his fortune at the expence of the Spaniards, fitted out three ships at Plymouth, one of a hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty; and with these small vessels he ventured into the South Sea, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took nineteen

⁵⁰ Camden, p. 540. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 156.

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vessels, some of which were richly laden; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came to London, and entered the river in a kind of triumph. His mariners and soldiers were clothed in silk, his sails were of damask, his top-sail cloth of gold; and his prizes were esteemed the richest that ever had been brought into England ⁵¹.

THE land enterprises of the English were not, during this campaign, so advantageous or honorable to the nation. The important place of Deventer was intrusted by Leicester to William Stanley, with a garrison of twelve hundred English; and this gentleman, being a catholic, was alarmed at the discovery of Babington's conspiracy, and became apprehensive, lest every one of his religion should thenceforth be treated with distrust in England. He entered into a correspondence with the Spaniards, betrayed the city to them for a sum of money, and engaged the whole garrison to desert with him to the Spanish service. Roland York, who commanded a fort near Zutphen, imitated his example; and the Hollanders, formerly disgusted with Leicester, and suspicious of the English, broke out into loud complaints against the improvidence, if not the treachery, of his administration. Soon after, he himself arrived in the Low Countries; but his conduct was nowise calculated to give them satisfaction, or to remove the suspicions, which they had entertained against him. The prince of Parma

⁵¹ Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 57.

having besieged Sluys, Leicester attempted to relieve the place, first by sea, then by land; but failed in both enterprises; and as he ascribed his bad success, to the ill behaviour of the Hollanders, they were equally free in reflections upon his conduct. The breach between them became wider every day: They slighted his authority, opposed his measures, and neglected his counsels; while he endeavoured, by an imperious behaviour, and by violence, to recover that influence, which he had lost by his imprudent and ill-concerted measures. He was even suspected by the Dutch of a design to usurp upon their liberties; and the jealousy, entertained against him, began to extend towards the queen herself. That princess had made some advances towards a peace with Spain: A congress had been opened at Bourbourg, a village near Gravelines: And though the two courts, especially that of Spain, had no other intention than to amuse each of them its enemy by negociation, and mutually-relax the preparations for defence or attack, the Dutch, who were determined, on no terms, to return under the Spanish yoke, became apprehensive lest their liberty should be sacrificed to the political interests of England⁵². But the queen, who knew the importance of her alliance with the States during the present conjuncture, was resolved to give them entire satisfaction by recalling Leicester, and commanding him to resign his government.

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⁵² Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv. Strype, vol. iv. N^o 246.

C H A P. Maurice, son of the late prince of Orange, a
 XLII. youth of twenty years of age, was elected by
 1587. the States governor in his place; and Peregrine
 lord Willoughby was appointed by the queen
 commander of the English forces. The measures
 of these two generals were much embarrassed by
 the malignity of Leicester, who had left a faction
 behind him, and who still attempted, by means
 of his emissaries, to disturb all the operations of
 the States. As soon as Elizabeth received intel-
 ligence of these disorders, she took care to redress
 them; and she obliged all the partisans of England
 to fall into unanimity with prince Maurice⁵³.
 But though her good sense so far prevailed over
 her partiality to Leicester, she never could be
 made fully sensible of his vices and incapacity:
 The submissions, which he made her, restored
 him to her wonted favor; and Lord Buckhurst,
 who had accused him of misconduct in Holland,
 lost her confidence, for some time, and was even
 committed to custody.

SIR Christopher Hatton was another favorite,
 who at this time, received some marks of her
 partiality. Though he had never followed the
 profession of the law, he was made chancellor in
 the place of Bromley, deceased; but notwithstand-
 ing all the expectations and perhaps wishes of
 the lawyers, he behaved in a manner not un-
 worthy of that high station: His good natural ca-
 pacity supplied the place of experience and study;

⁵³ Rymer, tom. xv. p. 66.

and his decisions were not found deficient either in point of equity or judgment. His enemies had contributed to this promotion, in hopes that his absence from court, while he attended the business of chancery, would gradually estrange the queen from him, and give them an opportunity of undermining him in her favor.

THESE little intrigues and cabals of the court were silenced by the account which came from all quarters, of the vast preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England, and for the entire conquest of that kingdom. Philip, though he had not yet declared war, on account of the hostilities, which Elizabeth every where committed upon him, had long harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge against her. His ambition also and the hopes of extending his empire were much encouraged by the present prosperous state of his affairs; by the conquest of Portugal, the acquisition of the East-Indian commerce and settlements, and the yearly importation of vast treasures from America. The point, on which he rested his highest glory, the perpetual object of his policy, was to support orthodoxy and exterminate heresy; and as the power and credit of Elizabeth were the chief bulwark of the protestants, he hoped, if he could subdue that princess, to acquire the eternal renown, of reuniting the whole christian world in the catholic communion. Above all, his indignation against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands instigated him to attack the English, who had encouraged

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Philip pro-
jects the in-
vasion of
England.

C H A P. XLII. 1588. that insurrection, and who, by their vicinity, were so well enabled to support the Hollanders, that he could never hope to reduce these rebels, while the power of that kingdom remained entire and unbroken. To subdue England seemed a necessary preparative to the re-establishment of his authority in the Netherlands; and notwithstanding appearances, the former was in itself, as a more important, so a more easy undertaking than the latter. That kingdom lay nearer Spain than the Low Countries, and was more exposed to invasions from that quarter; after an enemy had once obtained entrance, the difficulty seemed to be over, as it was neither fortified by art or nature; a long peace had deprived it of all military discipline and experience; and the catholics, in which it still abounded, would be ready, it was hoped, to join any invader, who should free them from those persecutions, under which they labored, and should revenge the death of the queen of Scots, on whom they had fixed all their affections. The fate of England must be decided in one battle at sea, and another at land; and what comparison between the English and Spaniards, either in point of naval force, or in the numbers, reputation, and veteran bravery of their armies? Besides the acquisition of so great a kingdom, success against England ensured the immediate subjection of the Hollanders, who, attacked on every hand, and deprived of all support, must yield their stubborn necks to that yoke, which they had so long resisted.

Happily this conquest, as it was of the utmost importance to the grandeur of Spain, would not at present be opposed by the jealousy of other powers, naturally so much interested to prevent the success of the enterprise. A truce was lately concluded with the Turks; the Empire was in the hands of a friend and near ally; and France, the perpetual rival of Spain, was so torn with intestine commotions, that she had no leisure to pay attention to her foreign interests. This favorable opportunity, therefore, which might never again present itself, must be seized; and one bold effort made for acquiring that ascendant in Europe, to which the present greatness and prosperity of the Spaniards seemed so fully to entitle them ⁵⁴.

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THESE hopes and motives engaged Philip, notwithstanding his cautious temper, to undertake this hazardous enterprise: and though the prince, now created by the pope, duke of Parma, when consulted, opposed the attempt, at least represented the necessity of previously getting possession of some sea-port town in the Netherlands, which might afford a retreat to the Spanish navy ⁵⁵, it was determined by the catholic monarch to proceed immediately to the execution of his ambitious project. During some time he had been secretly making preparations; but as soon as the resolution was fully taken, every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and all

⁵⁴ Camden. Strype, vol. iii. p. 512.

⁵⁵ Bentivoglio, part 2. lib. iv.

C H A P. XLII. 1588. were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded four hundred tons ⁵⁷. The royal navy consisted only of twenty-eight sail ⁵⁸, many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen, who, being accustomed to sail in tempestuous seas, and expose themselves to all dangers, as much exceeded in this particular the Spanish mariners, as their vessels were inferior in size and force to those of that nation ⁵⁹. All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships for re-inforcing this small navy; and they discovered, on the present occasion, great alacrity in defending their liberty and religion against those imminent perils, with which they were menaced. The citizens of London, in order to show their zeal in the common cause, instead of fifteen vessels, which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number ⁶⁰. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned, forty-three ships at their own charge ⁶¹; and all the loans of money, which the queen demanded, were frankly granted by the persons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was

⁵⁷ Monson, p. 268.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 157.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 321.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 267.

⁶¹ Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 451.

admiral,

admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was commanded by lord Seymour, second son of protector Somerset; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

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THE land forces of England, compared to those of Spain, possessed contrary qualities to its naval power: They were more numerous than the enemy, but much inferior in discipline, reputation, and experience. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast; and orders were given them, if they could not prevent the landing of the Spaniards, to retire backwards, to waste the country around, and to wait for reinforcement from the neighbouring counties, before they approached the enemy. A body of twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Leicester, was stationed at Tilbury, in order to defend the capital. The principal army consisted of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and was commanded by lord Hunsdon. These forces were reserved for guarding the queen's person; and were appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear. The fate of England, if all the Spanish armies should be able to land, seemed to depend on the issue of a single battle; and men of reflection

G H A P. his ministers, generals, and admirals, were em-
 XLII. ployed in forwarding the design. The marquis
 1538 of Santa Croce, a sea-officer of great reputation
 and experience, was destined to command the
 fleet; and by his counsels were the naval equip-
 ments conducted. In all the ports of Sicily,
 Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans were em-
 ployed in building vessels of uncommon size and
 force; naval stores were bought at a great expence;
 provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered
 in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid
 for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had
 never before had its equal in Europe. The mili-
 tary preparations in Flanders were no less formida-
 ble. Troops from all quarters were every moment
 assembling, to reinforce the duke of Parma.
 Capizucchi and Spinelli, conducted forces from
 Italy: The marquis of Borgaut, a prince of the
 house of Austria, levied troops in Germany:
 The Walloon and Burgundian regiments were
 completed or augmented: The Spanish infantry
 was supplied with recruits; and an army of thirty-
 four thousand men was assembled in the Nether-
 lands, and kept in readiness to be transported
 into England. The duke of Parma employed all
 the carpenters whom he could procure, either
 in Flanders or in Lower Germany, and the coasts
 of the Baltic; and he built at Dunkirk, and
 Newport, but especially at Antwerp, a great
 number of boats and flat-bottomed vessels, for
 the transporting of his infantry and cavalry. The
 most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and

The Invinc-
 ible Ar-
 mada.

Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honor of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Vespasian Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and the duke of Pastrana, hastened to join the army under the duke of Parma. About two thousand volunteers in Spain, many of them men of family, had enlisted in the service. No doubts were entertained, but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of such consummate skill, must finally be successful. And the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*.

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News of these extraordinary preparations soon reached the court of London; and notwithstanding the secrecy of the Spanish council, and their pretending to employ this force in the Indies, it was easily concluded, that they meant to make some effort against England. The queen had foreseen the invasion; and finding that she must now contend for her crown with the whole force of Spain, she made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power, by which, all Europe apprehended, she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about fourteen thousand men[“]. The size of the English shipping was, in general, so small, that, except a few of the queen's ships of war, there

Preparations
in England.

[“] Monson, p. 256.

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⁵⁷ Monson, p. 268.⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 157.⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 321.⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 267.⁶¹ Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 451.

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admiral, and took on him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, was commanded by lord Seymour, second son of protector Somerset; and lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

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C H A P. entertained the most dismal apprehensions, when
 XLII. they considered the force of fifty thousand veteran
 1588. Spaniards, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age; and compared this formidable armament with the military power, which England, not enervated by peace, but long disused to war, could muster up against it.

THE chief support of the kingdom seemed to consist in the vigor and prudence of the queen's conduct; who, undismayed by the present dangers, issued all her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to a steady resistance, and employed every resource, which either her domestic situation or her foreign alliances could afford her. She sent Sir Robert Sydney into Scotland; and exhorted the king to remain attached to her, and to consider the danger, which at present menaced his sovereignty no less than her own, from the ambition of the Spanish tyrant⁶²: The ambassador found James well disposed to cultivate a union with England, and that prince even kept himself prepared to march with the force of his whole kingdom to the assistance of Elizabeth. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the tie of their common religion,

⁶² She made him some promises which she never fulfilled, to give him a dukedom in England, with suitable lands and revenue, to settle 5000l. a year on him, and pay him a guard, for the safety of his person. From a MS. of lord Royston's.

engaged this monarch, upon her application, to seize a squadron of ships, which Philip had bought or hired in the Danish harbours⁶³: The Hanse Towns, though not at that time on good terms with Elizabeth, were induced, by the same motives, to retard so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless to the purpose of invading England. All the protestants throughout Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event, which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion; and though unable, by reason of their distance, to join their force to that of Elizabeth, they kept their eyes fixed on her conduct and fortune, and beheld with anxiety, mixed with admiration, the intrepid countenance, with which she encountered that dreadful tempest, which was every moment advancing towards her.

THE queen also was sensible, that, next to the general popularity, which she enjoyed, and the confidence, which her subjects reposed in her prudent government, the firmest support of her throne consisted in the general zeal of the people for the protestant religion, and the strong prejudices which they had imbibed against popery. She took care, on the present occasion, to revive in the nation this attachment to their own sect, and this abhorrence of the opposite. The English were reminded of their former danger from the tyranny of Spain: All the barbarities, exercised

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1558.

⁶³ Strype, vol. iii. p. 524.

C H A P. by Mary against the protestants, were ascribed
XLII. to the counsels of that bigotted and imperious
1588. nation: The bloody massacres in the Indies, the
unrelenting executions in the Low Countries,
the horrid cruelties and iniquities of the inquisition,
were set before men's eyes: A list and description
was published, and pictures dispersed, of the several
instruments of torture, with which it was pretended,
the Spanish Armada was loaded: And every artifice,
as well as reason, was employed, to animate the
people to a vigorous defence of their religion,
their laws, and their liberties.

BUT while the queen, in this critical emergency,
roused the animosity of the nation against popery,
she treated the partisans of that sect with moderation,
and gave not way to an undistinguishing fury
against them. Though she knew, that Sixtus
Quintus, the present pope, famous for his capacity
and his tyranny, had fulminated a new bull of
excommunication against her, had deposed her,
had absolved her subjects from their oaths of
allegiance, had published a crusade against
England, and had granted plenary indulgences
to every one engaged in the present invasion;
she would not believe, that all her catholic
subjects could be so blinded, as to sacrifice
to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and
the liberty and independence of their native
country. She rejected all violent counsels,
by which she was urged to seek pretences for
dispatching the leaders of that party: She would not

even confine any considerable number of them: C H A P.
 And the catholics, sensible of this good usage, XLII.
 generally expressed great zeal for the public service. 1588.
 Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they
 could not justly expect any trust or authority,
 entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or
 army⁶⁴: Some equipped ships at their own
 charge, and gave the command of them to
 protestants: Others were active in animating
 their tenants, and vassals, and neighbours, to
 the defence of their country: And every rank
 of men, burying for the present all party distinc-
 tions, seemed to prepare themselves, with order
 as well as vigor, to resist the violence of these
 invaders.

THE more to excite the martial spirit of the
 nation, the queen appeared on horseback in the
 camp at Tilbury; and riding through the lines,
 discovered a chearful and animated countenance,
 exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to
 their country and their religion, and professed
 her intention, though a woman, to lead them
 herself into the field against the enemy, and
 rather to perish in battle than survive the ruin and
 slavery of her people⁶⁵. By this spirited beha-
 viour she revived the tenderness and admiration
 of the soldiery: An attachment to her person
 became a kind of enthusiasm among them: And
 they asked one another, Whether it were possible;

⁶⁴ Stowe, p. 747.

⁶⁵ See note [M] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. XIII. 1588. that Englishmen could abandon this glorious cause, could display less fortitude than appeared in the female sex, or could ever, by any dangers, be induced to relinquish the defence of their heroic princess?

THE Spanish Armada was ready in the beginning of May; but the moment it was preparing to sail, the marquis of Santa Croce, the admiral, was seized with a fever, of which he soon after died. The vice-admiral, the duke of Paliano, by a strange concurrence of accidents, at the very same time, suffered the same fate; and the king appointed for admiral the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but unexperienced in action, and entirely unacquainted with sea affairs. Alcarede was appointed vice-admiral. This misfortune, besides the loss of so great an officer as Santa Croce, retarded the sailing of the Armada, and gave the English more time for their preparations to oppose them. At last, the Spanish fleet, full of hopes and alacrity, set sail from Lisbon; but next day met with a violent tempest, which scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and forced the rest to take shelter in the Groyne, where they waited till they could be refitted. When news of this event was carried to England, the queen concluded, that the design of an invasion was disappointed for this summer; and being always ready to lay hold on every pretence for saving money, she made Walsingham write to the admiral, directing him to lay up some of the larger ships,

29th May.

and to discharge the seamen: But lord Effingham, who was not so sanguine in his hopes, used the freedom to disobey these orders; and he begged leave to retain all the ships in service; though it should be at his own expence⁶⁶. He took advantage of a north wind, and sailed towards the coast of Spain, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours; but the wind changing to the south, he became apprehensive, lest they might have set sail, and by passing him at sea, invade England, now exposed by the absence of the fleet. He returned, therefore, with the utmost expedition to Plymouth, and lay at anchor in that harbour.

MEANWHILE, all the damages of the Armada were repaired; and the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea, in prosecution of their enterprize. The fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, of which near a hundred were galleons; and were of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It carried on board nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred and fifty-six mariners, two thousand and eighty-eight galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months; and was attended by twenty lesser ships, called caravels, and ten salves with six oars a piece⁶⁷.

THE plan formed by the king of Spain was,

⁶⁶ Camden, p. 545.

⁶⁷ Strype, vol. iii. Append. p. 221.

C H A P. XLII. 1588. that the Armada should sail to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Newport; and having chased away all English or Flemish vessels, which might obstruct the passage, (for it was never supposed they could make opposition) should join themselves with the duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. In prosecution of this scheme, Philip gave orders to the duke of Medina, that, in passing along the channel, he should sail as near the coast of France as he could with safety; that he should by this policy avoid meeting with the English fleet; and keeping in view the main enterprize, should neglect all smaller successes, which might prove an obstacle, or even interpose a delay, to the acquisition of a kingdom⁶⁸. After the Armada was under sail, they took a fisherman, who informed them, that the English admiral had been lately at sea, had heard of the tempest which scattered the Armada, had retired back into Plymouth, and no longer expecting an invasion this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged most of the seamen. From this false intelligence the duke of Medina conceived the great facility of attacking and destroying the English ships in harbour; and he was tempted, by the prospect of so decisive an advantage, to break his orders, and make sail directly for Plymouth: A resolution

⁶⁸ Monson, p. 157.

which proved the safety of England. The Lizard was the first land made by the Armada, about sun-set; and as the Spaniards took it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, they bore out to sea with an intention of returning next day, and attacking the English navy. They were descried by Fleming a Scottish pirate, who was roving in those seas, and who immediately set sail, to inform the English admiral of their approach⁶⁹: Another fortunate event, which contributed extremely to the safety of the fleet. Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other.

THE writers of that age raise their style by a pompous description of this spectacle; the most magnificent that had ever appeared upon the ocean, infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, seem impossible to be justly painted, but by assuming the colors of poetry; and an eloquent historian of Italy, in imitation of Camden, has asserted, that the Armada, though the ships bore every sail, yet advanced with a slow motion; as if the ocean groaned with supporting, and the winds were tired with impelling, so enormous a weight⁷⁰. The truth,

C H A P.

XLII.

1588.

19th July.

The Armada arrives in the Channel.

⁶⁹ Monson, p. 158.⁷⁰ Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. iv.

C H A P.
XLII.
1588.

however, is, that the largest of the Spanish vessels would scarcely pass for third rates in the present navy of England; yet were they so ill framed, or so ill governed, that they were quite unwieldy, and could not sail upon a wind, nor tack on occasion, nor be managed in stormy weather by the seamen. Neither the mechanics of ship-building, nor the experience of mariners, had attained so great perfection as could serve for the security and government of such bulky vessels; and the English, who had already had experience how unserviceable they commonly were, beheld without dismay their tremendous appearance.

EFFINGHAM gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards; where the size of the ships, he suspected, and the numbers of the soldiers, would be a disadvantage to the English; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity, which winds, currents, or various accidents must afford him, of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered expectation. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada: The great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast: And both these vessels were taken, after some resistance, by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it

with skirmishes. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to the English; and the latter soon found, that even in close fight the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them. Their bulk exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English. The alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil; Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Charles Blount, with many others, distinguished themselves by this generous and disinterested service of their country. The English fleet, after the conjunction of those ships, amounted to a hundred and forty sail.

THE Armada had now reached Calais, and cast anchor before that place; in expectation, that the duke of Parma, who had gotten intelligence of their approach, would put to sea, and join his forces to them. The English admiral practised here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them all with combustible materials, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied, that they were fireships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel, which had lately done so much execution in the Scheld near Antwerp; and they

C H A P.

XLII.

1588.

C H A P. immediately cut their cables, and took to flight
 XLII. with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The
 1588. English fell upon them next morning, while in
 confusion; and besides doing great damage to
 other ships, they took or destroyed about twelve
 of the enemy.

By this time, it was become apparent, that
 the intention, for which these preparations were
 made by the Spaniards, was entirely frustrated.
 The vessels, provided by the duke of Parma,
 were made for transporting soldiers, not for
 fighting; and that general, when urged to leave
 the harbour, positively refused to expose his
 flourishing army to such apparent hazard, while
 the English, not only were able to keep the
 sea, but seemed even to triumph over their
 enemy. The Spanish admiral found, in many
 rencounters, that, while he lost so considerable
 a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only
 one small vessel of the English; and he foresaw,
 that by continuing so unequal a combat, he must
 draw inevitable destruction on all the remainder.
 He prepared therefore to return homewards; but
 as the wind was contrary to his passage through
 the channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and
 making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish
 harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed
 him during some time; and had not their ammu-
 nition fallen short, by the negligence of the
 offices in supplying them, they had obliged the
 whole Armada to surrender at discretion. The
 duke of Medina had once taken that resolution;

but was diverted from it by the advice of his confessor. This conclusion of the enterprize would have been more glorious to the English; but the event proved almost equally fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys: The ships had already lost their anchors, and were obliged to keep to sea: The mariners, unaccustomed to such hardships, and not able to govern such unwieldy vessels, yielded to the fury of the storm, and allowed their ships to drive either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen, as well as soldiers, who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valor of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them.

SUCH was the miserable and dishonorable conclusion of an enterprize which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Philip, who was a slave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance, no sooner heard of the mortifying event, which blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for that gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy, that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests,

C H A P.

XLII.

1588.

Defeated.

C H A P. XLII. who had so often blest this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for the victory gained over the catholic monarch by excommunicated heretics and an execrable usurper: But they at last discovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them⁷¹.

1589.
4th Feb.

SOON after the defeat and dispersion of the Spanish Armada, the queen summoned a new parliament; and received from them a supply of two subsidies and four fifteenths payable in four years. This is the first instance that subsidies were doubled in one supply; and so unusual a concession was probably obtained from the joy of the present success, and from the general sense of the queen's necessities. Some members objected to this heavy charge, on account of the great burthen of loans, which had lately been imposed upon the nation⁷².

A parliament.

ELIZABETH foresaw, that this house of commons, like all the foregoing, would be governed by the puritans; and therefore, to obviate their enterprises, she renewed, at the beginning of the session, her usual injunction, that the parliament should not, on any account, presume to treat of matters ecclesiastical. Notwithstanding this strict inhibition, the zeal of one Dampport moved him to present a bill to the commons for

⁷¹ See note [R] at the end of the volume.

⁷² See note [S] at the end of the volume.

remedying spiritual grievances, and for restraining the tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission, which were certainly great: But when Mr. Secretary Woley reminded the house of her majesty's commands, no one durst second the motion; the bill was not so much as read; and the speaker returned it to Dampport, without taking the least notice of it⁷³. Some members of the house, notwithstanding the general submission, were even committed to custody on account of this attempt⁷⁴.

C H A P.
XLII.
1589.

THE imperious conduct of Elizabeth appeared still more clearly in another parliamentary transaction. The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could at pleasure take provisions for the household from all the neighbouring counties, and could make use of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of these commodities and services was fixed and stated. The payment of the money was often distant and uncertain; and the rates, being fixed before the discovery of the West-Indies, were much inferior to the present market price; so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a great burthen, and being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. We may fairly presume, that the hungry courtiers of Elizabeth, supported by her unlimited power, would be sure to render

⁷³ D'Ewes, p. 438. ⁷⁴ Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 280. Neal, vol. i. p. 500.

CHAP. XLII. 1589. this prerogative very oppressive to the people; and the commons had, last session, found it necessary to pass a bill for regulating these exactions: But the bill was lost in the house of peers⁷⁵. The continuance of the abuses begat a new attempt for redress; and the same bill was now revived again, and sent up to the house of peers, together with a bill for some new regulations in the court of exchequer. Soon after the commons received a message from the upper house, desiring them to appoint a committee for a conference. At this conference, the peers informed them, that the queen, by a message, delivered by lord Burleigh, had expressed her displeasure, that the commons should presume to touch on her prerogative. If there were any abuses, she said, either in imposing purveyance, or in the practice of the court of exchequer, her majesty was both able and willing to provide due reformation; but would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in these matters⁷⁶. The commons alarmed at this intelligence, appointed another committee to attend the queen, and endeavour to satisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. Elizabeth gave a gracious reception to the committee: She expressed her great *inestimable loving care* towards her loving subjects; which, she said, was greater than of her own self, or even than any of them could have of themselves. She told them, that she had already given orders for an inquiry into

⁷⁵ D'Ewes, p. 434.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 440.

the abuses attending purveyance, but the dangers of the Spanish invasion had retarded the progress of the design; that she had as much skill, will, and power to rule her household as any subjects whatsoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the assistance of her neighbours; that the exchequer was her chamber, consequently more near to her than even her household, and therefore the less proper for them to intermeddle with; and that she would of herself, with advice of her council and the judges, redress every grievance in these matters, but would not permit the commons, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honor attending these regulations⁷⁷. The issue of this matter was the same that attended all contests between Elizabeth and her parliaments⁷⁸. She seems even to have been more imperious, in this particular, than her predecessors; at least, her more remote ones: For they often permitted the abuses of purveyance⁷⁹ to be redressed by law⁸⁰. Edward III. a very arbitrary prince, allowed ten several statutes to be enacted for that purpose.

IN so great awe did the commons stand of every courtier, as well as of the crown, that they durst use no freedom of speech, which, they thought, would give the least offence to

⁷⁷ D'Ewes, p. 444. ⁷⁸ *Si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.* Juven.

⁷⁹ See note [P] at the end of the volume.

⁸⁰ See the statutes under this head of purveyance.

C. H. A. T. any of them. Sir Edward Hobby showed in the
 XLII. house his extreme grief, that, by some great
 1589. personage, not a member of the house, he had
 been sharply rebuked for speeches delivered in
 parliament: He craved the favor of the house,
 and desired that some of the members might in-
 form that great personage of his true meaning and
 intention in these speeches ⁸¹. The commons,
 to obviate these inconveniences, passed a vote,
 that no one should reveal the secrets of the
 house ⁸².

Expedition
 against Por-
 tugal.

THE discomfiture of the Armada had begotten
 in the nation a kind of enthusiastic passion for
 enterprises against Spain; and nothing seemed now
 impossible to be atchieved by the valor and for-
 tune of the English. Don Antonio, prior of
 Crato, a natural son of the royal family of Por-
 tugal, trusting to the aversion of his countrymen
 against the Castilians, had advanced a claim to
 the crown; and flying first to France, thence to
 England, had been encouraged both by Henry
 and Elizabeth in his pretensions. A design was
 formed by the people, not the court, of England,
 to conquer the kingdom for Don Antonio: Sir
 Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the
 leaders in this romantic enterprise: Near twenty

⁸¹ D'Ewes, p. 432, 433. ⁸² An act was passed
 this session, enforcing the former statute, which im-
 posed twenty pounds a month on every one absent from
 public worship: But the penalty was restricted to two
 thirds of the income of the recusant. 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

thousand volunteers ⁸³ enlisted themselves in the service: And ships were hired, as well as arms provided, at the charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality kept her from contributing more than sixty thousand pounds to the expence; and she only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition ⁸⁴. There was more spirit and bravery, than foresight or prudence, in the conduct of this enterprize. The small stock of the adventurers did not enable them to buy either provisions or ammunition sufficient for such an undertaking: They even wanted vessels to stow the numerous volunteers, who crowded to them; and they were obliged to seize by force some ships of the Hanse Towns, which they met with at sea: An expedient, which set them somewhat more at ease in point of room for their men, but remedied not the deficiency of their provisions ⁸⁵. Had they sailed directly to Portugal, it is believed, that the good will of the people, joined to the defenceless state of the country, might have ensured them of success: But hearing, that great preparations were making at the Groyne, for the invasion of England, they were induced to go thither, and destroy this new armament

⁸³ Birch's Memoirs of queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 61. Monson, p. 267, says, that there were only fourteen thousand soldiers and four thousand seamen in the whole on this expedition: But the account contained in Dr. Birch, is given by one of the most considerable of the adventurers.

⁸⁴ Monson, p. 267.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 159.

C H A P. of Spain. They broke into the harbour; burned
 XLII. some ships of war, particularly one commanded
 1589. by Recalde, vice-admiral of Spain; they defeated
 an army of four or five thousand men, which
 was assembled to oppose them; they assaulted the
 Groyne, and took the lower town, which they
 pillaged; and they would have taken the higher,
 though well fortified, had they not found their
 ammunition and provisions beginning to fail them.
 The young earl of Essex, a nobleman of pro-
 mising hopes, who, fired with the thirst of mili-
 tary honor, had secretly, unknown to the queen,
 stolen from England, here joined the adventurers;
 and it was then agreed by common consent to
 make sail for Portugal, the main object of their
 enterprize.

THE English landed at Paniche, a sea-port
 town, twelve leagues from Lisbon; and Norris
 led the army to that capital, while Drake under-
 took to sail up the river, and attack the city with
 united forces. By this time the court of Spain
 had gotten leisure to prepare against the invasion.
 Forces were thrown into Lisbon: The Portuguese
 were disarmed: All suspected persons were taken
 into custody: And thus, though the inhabitants
 bore great affection to Don Antonio, none of
 them durst declare in favor of the invaders. The
 English army, however, made themselves masters
 of the suburbs, which abounded with riches of
 all kinds; but as they desired to conciliate the
 affections of the Portuguese, and were more in-
 tent on honor than profit, they observed a strict

discipline, and abstained from all plunder. Meanwhile, they found their ammunition and provisions much exhausted; they had not a single cannon to make a breach in the walls; the admiral had not been able to pass some fortresses, which guarded the river; there was no appearance of an insurrection in their favor; sickness, from fatigue, hunger, and intemperance in wine and fruits, had seized the army: So that it was found necessary to make all possible haste to reembark. They were not pursued by the enemy; and finding, at the mouth of the river, sixty ships laden with naval stores, they seized them as lawful prize; though they belonged to the Hanse Towns, a neutral power. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned; and having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. Above half of these gallant adventurers perished by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword⁸⁶; and England reaped more honor than profit from this extraordinary enterprise. It is computed, that eleven hundred gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only three hundred and fifty survived those multiplied disasters⁸⁷.

WHEN these ships were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward bound, with a fleet of seven sail, all equipped at his own charge, except one

⁸⁶ Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 61.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

C H A P. ship of war, which the queen had lent him. That
 XLII. nobleman supplied Sir Francis Drake with some
 1582. provisions; a generosity which saved the lives
 of many of Drake's men, but for which the others
 afterwards suffered severely. Cumberland failed
 towards the Terceras, and took several prizes
 from the enemy; but the richest, valued at a
 hundred thousand pounds, perished in her return,
 with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in
 Cornwall. Many of these adventurers were killed
 in a rash attempt at the Terceras: A great mor-
 tality seized the rest: And it was with difficulty
 that the few hands, which remained, were able
 to steer the ships back into harbour ⁸⁸.

Affairs of
 Scotland.

THOUGH the signal advantages, gained over
 the Spaniards, and the spirit thence infused into
 the English, gave Elizabeth great security during
 the rest of her reign, she could not forbear keep-
 ing an anxious eye on Scotland, whose situation
 rendered its revolutions always of importance to
 her. It might have been expected, that this
 high-spirited princess, who knew so well to brave
 danger, would not have retained that malignant
 jealousy towards her heir, with which, during
 the life-time of Mary, she had been so much
 agitated. James had indeed succeeded to all the
 claims of his mother; but he had not succeeded
 to the favor of the catholics, which could alone
 render these claims dangerous ⁸⁹: And as the
 queen was now well advanced in years, and

⁸⁸ Monson, p. 161.

⁸⁹ Winwood, vol. i. p. 41.

enjoyed an uncontrouled authority over her subjects, it was not likely, that the king of Scots, who was of an indolent unambitious temper, would ever give her any disturbance in her possession of the throne. Yet all these circumstances could not remove her timorous suspicions: And so far from satisfying the nation by a settlement of the succession, or a declaration of James's title, she was as anxious to prevent every incident, which might anywise raise his credit, or procure him the regard of the English, as if he had been her immediate rival and competitor. Most of his ministers and favorites were her pensioners; and as she was desirous to hinder him from marrying and having children, she obliged them to throw obstacles in the way of every alliance, even the most reasonable, which could be offered him; and during some years, she succeeded in this malignant policy⁹⁰. He had fixed on the elder daughter of the king of Denmark, who, being a remote prince and not powerful, could give her no umbrage; yet did she so artfully cross this negociation, that the Danish monarch, impatient of delay, married his daughter to the duke of Brunswick. James then renewed his suit to the younger princess; and still found obstacles from the intrigues of Elizabeth, who, merely with a view of interposing delay, proposed to him the sister of the king of Navarre, a princess much older than himself, and entirely destitute of for-

C H A P.
XLII.
1589.

⁹⁰ Melvil, p. 166. 177.

C H A P. XLII. 1539. tune. The young king, besides the desire of securing himself, by the prospect of issue, from those traiterous attempts, too frequent among his subjects, had been so watched by the rigid austerity of the ecclesiastics, that he had another inducement to marry, which is not so usual with monarchs. His impatience therefore broke through all the politics of Elizabeth: The articles of marriage were settled: The ceremony was performed by proxy: And the princess embarked for Scotland; but was driven by a storm into a port of Norway. This tempest, and some others, which happened near the same time, were universally believed in Scotland and Denmark to have proceeded from a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches; and the dying confession of the criminals was supposed to put the accusation beyond all controversy⁹¹. James, however, though a great believer in sorcery, was not deterred by this incident from taking a voyage, in order to conduct his bride home: He arrived in Norway; carried the queen thence to Copenhagen; and having passed the winter in that city, he brought her next spring to Scotland, where they were joyfully received by the people. The clergy alone, who never neglected an opportunity of vexing their prince, made opposition to the queen's coronation, on account of the ceremony of anointing her, which, they alledged, was either a Jewish or a popish rite; and therefore

⁹¹ Melvil, p. 180.

utterly antichristian and unlawful. But James was as much bent on the ceremony, as they were averse to it; and after much controversy and many intrigues, his authority, which had not often happened, at last prevailed over their opposition ⁹².

C H A P.

XLII.

1589.

⁹² Spotswood, p. 381.

C H A P. XLIII.

*French affairs — Murder of the duke of Guise —
 Murder of Henry III. — Progress of Henry IV. —
 Naval enterprizes against Spain — A Parliament —
 Henry IV. embraces the catholic religion — Scotch
 affairs — Naval enterprizes — A parliament —
 Peace of Vervins — The earl of Essex.*

C H A P. XLIII.
 1590.

AFTER a state of great anxiety and many difficulties, Elizabeth had at length reached a situation, where, though her affairs still required attention, and found employment for her active spirit, she was removed from all danger of any immediate revolution, and might regard the efforts of her enemies with some degree of confidence and security. Her successful and prudent administration had gained her, together with the admiration of foreigners, the affections of her own subjects; and after the death of the queen of Scots, even the catholics, however discontented, pretended not to dispute her title, or adhere to any other person as her competitor. James, curbed by his factious nobility and ecclesiastics, possessed at home very little authority; and was solicitous to remain on good terms with Elizabeth and the English nation, in hopes that time, aided by his patient tranquillity, would secure him that rich succession, to which his birth entitled him.

The Hollanders, though overmatched in their contest with Spain, still made an obstinate resistance; and such was their unconquerable antipathy to their old masters, and such the prudent conduct of young Maurice, their governor, that the subduing of that small territory, if at all possible, must be the work of years, and the result of many and great successes. Philip, who, in his powerful effort against England, had been transported by resentment and ambition beyond his usual cautious maxims, was now disabled, and still more discouraged, from adventuring again on such hazardous enterprises. The situation also of affairs in France began chiefly to employ his attention; but notwithstanding all his artifice, and force, and expence, the events in that kingdom proved every day more contrary to his expectations, and more favorable to the friends and confederates of England.

C H A P.
XLIII.
1590

THE violence of the league having constrained Henry to declare war against the Hugonots, these religionists seemed exposed to the utmost danger; and Elizabeth, sensible of the intimate connexion between her own interests and those of that party, had supported the king of Navarre by her negotiations in Germany, and by large sums of money, which she remitted for levying forces in that country. This great prince, not discouraged by the superiority of his enemies, took the field; and in the year 1587 gained at Coutras, a complete victory over the army of the French king; but as his allies, the Germans,

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were at the same time discomfited by the army of the league, under the duke of Guise, his situation, notwithstanding his victory, seemed still as desperate as ever. The chief advantage, which he reaped by this diversity of success, arose from the dissensions, which, by that means, took place among his enemies. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with admiration of Guise, and strongly prejudiced against their king, whose intentions had become suspicious to them, took to arms, and obliged Henry to fly for his safety. That prince, dissembling his resentment, entered into a negociation with the league; and having conferred many high offices on Guise and his partisans summoned an assembly of the states at Blois, on pretence of finding expedients to support the intended war against the Hugonots. The various scenes of perfidy and cruelty, which had been exhibited in France, had justly begotten a mutual diffidence among all parties; yet Guise, trusting more to the timidity than honor of the king, rashly put himself into the hands of that monarch, and expected, by the ascendant of his own genius, to make him submit to all his exorbitant pretensions. Henry, though of an easy disposition, not steady to his resolutions, or even to his promises, wanted neither courage nor capacity; and finding all his subtilties eluded by the vigor of Guise, and even his throne exposed to the most imminent danger, he embraced more violent counsels than were natural to him, and ordered that prince

Murder of
the duke of
Guise.

and his brother, the cardinal of Guise, to be
assassinated in his palace.

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THIS cruel execution, which the necessity of it alone could excuse, had nearly proved fatal to the author, and seemed at first to plunge him into greater dangers than those which he sought to avoid, by taking vengeance on his enemy. The partisans of the league were inflamed with the utmost rage against him: The populace everywhere, particularly at Paris, renounced allegiance to him: The ecclesiastics and the preachers filled all places with execrations against his name: And the most powerful cities and most opulent provinces appeared to combine in a resolution, either of renouncing monarchy, or of changing their monarch. Henry, finding slender resources among his catholic subjects, was constrained to enter into a confederacy with the Hugonots and the king of Navarre; He enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry: And being still supported by his chief nobility, he assembled, by all these means, an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, ready to crush the league, and subdue all his enemies. The desperate resolution of one man diverted the course of these great events. Jaques Clement, a Dominican friar, inflamed by that bloody spirit of bigotry, which distinguishes this century and a great part of the following beyond all ages of the world, embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life, in order to save the church from the persecutions of a heretical tyrant;

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Murder of
Henry the
third.

and being admitted, under some pretext, to the king's presence, he gave that prince a mortal wound, and was immediately put to death by the courtiers, who hastily revenged the murder of their sovereign. This memorable incident happened on the first of August, 1589.

THE king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government, by the title of Henry IV. but succeeded to much greater difficulties than those which surrounded his predecessor. The prejudices, entertained against his religion, made a great part of the nobility immediately desert him; and it was only by his promise of hearkening to conferences and instruction, that he could engage any of the catholics to adhere to his undoubted title. The league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, gathered new force; and the king of Spain entertained views, either of dismembering the French monarchy, or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful circumstances, Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, and found her well disposed to contribute to his assistance, and to oppose the progress of the catholic league, and of Philip her inveterate and dangerous enemies. To prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries, she made him a present of twenty-two thousand pounds; a greater sum than, as he declared, he had ever seen before: And sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men, under lord Willoughby, an officer of reputation, who joined the French at Dieppe.

Strengthened by these supplies, Henry marched directly to Paris; and having taken the suburbs, sword in hand, he abandoned them to be pillaged by his foldiers. He employed this body of English in many other enterprizes, and still found reason to praise their courage and fidelity. The time of their service being elapsed, he dismissed them with many high commendations. Sir William Drury, Sir Thomas Baskerville, and Sir John Boroughs acquired reputation this campaign, and revived in France the ancient fame of English valor.

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THE army, which Henry next campaign led into the field, was much inferior to that of the league; but as it was composed of the chief nobility of France, he feared not to encounter his enemies in a pitched battle at Ivry, and he gained a complete victory over them. This success enabled him to blockade Paris, and he reduced that capital to the last extremity of famine: When the duke of Parma, in consequence of orders from Philip, marched to the relief of the league, and obliged Henry to raise the blockade. Having performed this important service, he retreated to the Low Countries; and by his consummate skill in the art of war, performed these long marches in the face of the enemy, without affording the French monarch that opportunity which he sought, of giving him battle, or so much as once putting his army in disorder. The only loss, which he sustained, was in the Low Countries; where prince Maurice

Progress of
Henry the
fourth.

C H A P. took advantage of his absence, and recovered
 XLIII. some places, which the duke of Parma had formerly conquered from the States¹.

1591.

THE situation of Henry's affairs, though promising, was not so well advanced or established as to make the queen discontinue her succours; and she was still more confirmed in the resolution of supporting him, by some advantages gained by the king of Spain. The duke of Mercœur, governor of Brittany, a prince of the house of Lorraine, had declared for the league; and finding himself hard pressed by Henry's forces, he had been obliged, in order to secure himself, to introduce some Spanish troops into the seaport towns of that province. Elizabeth was alarmed at the danger; and foresaw, that the Spaniards, besides infesting the English commerce by privateers, might employ these harbours as the seat of their naval preparations, and might more easily, from that vicinity, than from Spain or Portugal, project an invasion of England. She concluded, therefore, a new treaty with Henry, in which she engaged to send over three thousand men, to be employed in the reduction of Brittany, and she stipulated that her charges should, in a twelvemonth, or as soon as the enemy was expelled, be refunded her². These forces were commanded by Sir John Norris; and under him by his brother Henry, and by

¹ See note [Q] at the end of the volume.

² Camden, p. 561.

Anthony Shirley. Sir Roger Williams was at the head of a small body which garrisoned Dieppe: And a squadron of ships, under the command of Sir Henry Palmer, lay upon the coast of France, and intercepted all the vessels belonging to the Spaniards or the leaguers.

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THE operations of war can very little be regulated beforehand by any treaty or agreement; and Henry, who found it necessary to lay aside the projected enterprise against Brittany, persuaded the English commanders to join his army, and to take a share in the hostilities, which he carried into Picardy³. Notwithstanding the disgust, which Elizabeth received from this disappointment, he laid before her a plan for expelling the leaguers from Normandy, and persuaded her to send over a new body of four thousand men, to assist him in that enterprise. The earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces; a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favor with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections, which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. Essex, impatient for military fame, was extremely uneasy to lie some time at Dieppe unemployed; and had not the orders, which he received from his mistress, been so positive, he would gladly have accepted of Henry's invitation, and have marched to join the French army now in Champagne.

³ Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 116.

C H A P. XLIII. 1591. This plan of operations was also proposed to Elizabeth by the French ambassador; but she rejected it with great displeasure; and she threatened immediately to recal her troops, if Henry should persevere any longer in his present practice, of breaking all concert with her, and attending to nothing but his own interests⁴. Urged by these motives, the French king, at last, led his army into Normandy, and laid siege to Rouen, which he reduced to great difficulties. But the league, unable of themselves to take the field against him, had again recourse to the duke of Parma, who received orders to march to their relief. He executed this enterprize with his usual abilities and success; and, for the present, frustrated all the projects of Henry and Elizabeth. This princess, who kept still in view the interests of her own kingdom in all her foreign transactions, was impatient, under these disappointments, blamed Henry for his negligence in the execution of treaties, and complained, that the English forces were thrust foremost in every hazardous enterprize⁵. It is probable, however, that their own ardent courage, and their desire of distinguishing themselves in so celebrated a theatre of war, were the causes why they so often enjoyed this perilous honor.

NOTWITHSTANDING the indifferent success of former enterprizes, the queen was sensible how

⁴ Birch's Negotiations, p. 5. Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 123. 140.

⁵ Camden, p. 562.

necessary it was to support Henry against the league and the Spaniards; and she formed a new treaty with him, in which they agreed never to make peace with Philip, but by common consent; *she* promised to send him a new supply of four thousand men; and *he* stipulated to repay her charges in a twelvemonth, to employ these forces, joined to a body of French troops, in an expedition against Brittany, and to consign into her hands a sea-port town of that province, for a retreat to the English⁶. Henry knew the impossibility of executing some of these articles, and the imprudence of fulfilling others; but finding them rigidly insisted on by Elizabeth, he accepted of her succours, and trusted that he might easily, on some pretence, be able to excuse his failure in executing his part of the treaty. This campaign was the least successful of all those which he had yet carried on against the league.

DURING these military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his West-Indian treasures, the source of that greatness, which rendered him so formidable to all his neighbours. She sent a squadron of seven ships, under the command of lord Thomas Howard, for this service; but the king of Spain, informed of her purpose, fitted out a great force, of fifty-five sail, and dispatched them to escort the Indian fleet. They fell in with the English squadron;

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Naval enterprises
against
Spain.

⁶ Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 151. 168. 171. 173.

CHAP. and by the courageous obstinacy of Sir Richard
 XLIII. Greenville, the vice-admiral, who refused to
 make his escape by flight, they took one vessel,
 the first English ship of war that had yet fallen
 into the hands of the Spaniards⁷. The rest of the
 squadron returned safely into England; frustrated
 of their expectations, but pleasing themselves with
 the idea that their attempt had not been altogether
 fruitless in hurting the enemy. The Indian fleet had
 been so long detained in the Havanna, from the
 fear of the English, that they were obliged at
 last to set sail in an improper season, and most
 of them perished by shipwreck, ere they reached
 the Spanish harbours⁸. The earl of Cumberland
 made a like unsuccessful enterprise against the
 Spanish trade. He carried out one ship of the
 queen's, and seven others, equipped at his own
 expence, but the prizes, which he made, did not
 compensate the charges⁹.

THE spirit of these expensive and hazardous
 adventures was very prevalent in England. Sir
 Walter Raleigh, who had enjoyed great favor
 with the queen, finding his interest to decline,
 determined to recover her good graces by some
 important undertaking; and as his reputation
 was high among his countrymen, he persuaded
 great numbers to engage with him as volunteers,
 in an attempt on the West-Indies. The fleet was
 detained so long in the Channel by contrary

1592.

⁷ See note [R] at the end of the volume.

⁸ Monson, p. 163. ⁹ Ibid. p. 169.

winds, that the season was lost: Raleigh was recalled by the queen: Sir Martin Frobisher succeeded to the command, and made a privateering voyage against the Spaniards. He took one rich Carac near the Island of Flores, and destroyed another¹⁰. About the same time, Thomas White, a Londoner, took two Spanish ships, which, besides fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, contained above two millions of bulls for indulgences; a commodity useless to the English, but which had cost the king of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions.

THIS war did great damage to Spain; but it was attended with considerable expence to England; and Elizabeth's ministers computed, that since the commencement of it, she had spent in Flanders and France, and on her naval expeditions, above one million two hundred thousand pounds¹¹; a charge which, notwithstanding her extreme frugality, was too burthensome for her narrow revenues to support. She summoned, therefore, a parliament, in order to obtain supply: But she either thought her authority so established, that she needed to make them no concessions in return, or she rated her power and prerogative above money: For there never was any parliament, whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness, or whose privileges she

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Feb. 19.
A parlia-
ment.

¹⁰ Monson, p. 165. Camden, p. 569. ¹¹ Strype, vol. iii.

C H A P. more openly violated. When the speaker, Sir
 XLIII. Edward Coke, made the three usual requests,
 1593. of freedom from arrests, of access to her person,
 and of liberty of speech; she replied to him, by
 the mouth of Puckering, lord keeper, that liberty
 of speech was granted to the commons, but they
 must know what liberty they were entitled to;
 not a liberty for every one to speak what he
 listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter;
 their privilege extended no farther than a liberty
 of Aye or No: That she enjoined the speaker,
 if he perceived any idle heads so negligent of
 their own safety, as to attempt reforming the
 church, or innovating in the commonwealth,
 that he should refuse the bills exhibited for that
 purpose, till they were examined by such as were
 fitter to consider of these things, and could better
 judge of them: That she would not impeach
 the freedom of their persons; but they must
 beware, lest, under color of this privilege, they
 imagined, that any neglect of their duty could
 be covered or protected: And that she would
 not refuse them access to her person; provided
 it were upon urgent and weighty causes, and at
 times convenient, and when she might have
 leisure from other important affairs of the
 realm ¹².

NOTWITHSTANDING the menacing and con-
 temptuous air of this speech, the intrepid and

¹² D'Ewes, p. 460. 469. Townshend, p. 37.

indefatigable Peter Wentworth, not discouraged by his former ill success, ventured to transgress the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He presented to the lord keeper a petition, in which he desired the upper house to join with the lower in a supplication to her majesty, for entailing the succession of the crown; and he declared, that he had a bill ready prepared for that purpose. This method of proceeding was sufficiently respectful and cautious; but the subject was always extremely disagreeable to the queen, and what she had expressly prohibited any one from meddling with: She sent Wentworth immediately to the Tower; committed Sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the Fleet prison, together with Stevens, and Welsh, two members, to whom Sir Thomas had communicated his intention¹³. About a fortnight after, a motion was made in the house, to petition the queen, for the release of these members; but it was answered by all the privy counsellors there present, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and that to press her on that head would only tend to the prejudice of the gentlemen, whom they meant to serve: She would release them whenever she thought proper, and would be better pleased to do it of her own proper motion, than from their suggestion¹⁴. The house willingly acquiesced in this reasoning.

¹³ Townshend, p. 54. D'Ewes, p. 470. ¹⁴ Ibid. p. 497.

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So arbitrary an act, at the commencement of the session, might well repress all farther attempts for freedom: But the religious zeal of the puritans, was not so easily restrained; and it inspired a courage, which no human motive was able to surmount. Morrice, chancellor of the dutchy, and attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but above all, in the high commission; where subscriptions, he said, were exacted to articles at the pleasure of the prelates; where oaths were imposed, obliging persons to answer to all questions without distinction, even though they should tend to their own condemnation; and where every one, who refused entire satisfaction to the commissioners, was imprisoned, without relief or remedy²⁵. This motion was seconded by some members; but the ministers and privy counsellors opposed it; and foretold the consequences which ensued. The queen sent for the speaker; and after requiring him to deliver to her Morrice's bill, she told him, that it was in her power to call parliaments, in her power to dissolve them, in her power to give assent or dissent to any determination, which they should form: That her purpose in summoning this parliament was twofold, to have laws enacted for the farther enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation, against the exorbitant power of Spain: That these two points ought, therefore, to be

²⁵ D'Ewes, p. 474. Townshend, p. 60.

the object of their deliberations: She had enjoined them already, by the mouth of the lord keeper, to meddle neither with matters of state nor of religion; and she wondered how any one could be so assuming, as to attempt a subject so expressly contrary to her prohibition: That she was highly offended with this presumption; and took the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require, that no bill, regarding either state affairs, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited in the house: And that in particular she charged the speaker upon his allegiance, if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members ¹⁶. This command from the queen was submitted to, without farther question. Morrice was seized in the house itself by a serjeant at arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the dutchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury castle ¹⁷.

THE queen having thus expressly pointed out, both what the house should and should not do, the commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They passed a law against recusants; such a law as was suited to the severe character of Elizabeth and to the persecuting spirit of the age. It was entitled,

¹⁶ D'Ewes, p. 474. 478. Townshend, p. 68.

¹⁷ Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 320.

C H A P. *An act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due*
 XLIII. *obedience; and was meant, as the preamble declares,*
 1593. *to obviate such inconveniences and perils as*
might grow from the wicked practices of sediti-
ous sectaries and disloyal persons: For these two
species of criminals were always, at that time,
confounded together, as equally dangerous to
the peace of society. It was enacted, that any
person, above sixteen years of age, who obstin-
ately refused, during the space of a month, to
attend public worship, should be committed to
prison; that, if, after being condemned for this
offence, he persist three months in his refusal, he
must abjure the realm; and that, if he either
refuse this condition, or return after banishment,
he should suffer capitally as a felon, without
*benefit of clergy*¹⁸. *This law bore equally hard*
upon the puritans and upon the catholics; and
had it not been imposed by the queen's authority,
was certainly, in that respect, much contrary to
the private sentiments and inclinations of the
majority in the house of commons. Very little
opposition, however, appears there to have been
*openly made to it*¹⁹.

THE expences of the war with Spain, having reduced the queen to great difficulties, the grant

¹⁸ 35 Eliz. c. 1.

¹⁹ After enacting this statute, the clergy, in order to remove the odium from themselves, often took care that recusants should be tried by the civil judges at the assizes, rather than by the ecclesiastical commissioners. Strype's Ann. vol. iv. p. 264.

of subsidies seems to have been the most important business of this parliament; and it was a signal proof of the high spirit of Elizabeth, that while conscious of a present dependence on the commons, she opened the session with the most haughty treatment of them, and covered her weakness under such a lofty appearance of superiority. The commons readily voted two subsidies and four fifteenths; but this sum not appearing sufficient to the court, an unusual expedient was fallen upon to induce them to make an enlargement in their concessions. The peers informed the commons in a conference, that they could not give their assent to the supply voted, thinking it too small for the queen's occasions: They therefore proposed a grant of three subsidies and six fifteenths, and desired a farther conference, in order to persuade the commons to agree to this measure. The commons, who had acquired the privilege of beginning bills of subsidy, took offence at this procedure of the lords, and at first absolutely rejected the proposal: But being afraid, on reflection, that they had, by this refusal, given offence to their superiors, they both agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional subsidy²⁰.

THE queen, notwithstanding this unusual concession of the commons, ended the session with a speech, containing some reprimands to them, and full of the same high pretensions, which she

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²⁰ D'Ewes, p. 483. 487, 488. Townshend, p. 66.

C H A P. had assumed at the opening of the parliament.
 XLIII. She took notice, by the mouth of the keeper,
 1593. that certain members spent more time than was
 necessary, by indulging themselves in harangues
 and reasonings: And she expressed her displeasure
 on account of their not paying due reverence
 to privy counsellors, "who," she told them,
 "were not to be accounted as common
 "knights and burgessees of the house, who are
 "counsellors but during the parliament: Whereas
 "the others are standing counsellors, and for
 "their wisdom and great service are called
 "to the council of the state"²¹. The queen
 also, in her own person, made the parliament
 a spirited harangue; in which she spoke of the
 justice and moderation of her government,
 expressed the small ambition she had ever enter-
 tained of making conquests, displayed the just
 grounds of her quarrel with the king of Spain,
 and discovered how little she apprehended the
 power of that monarch, even though he should
 make a greater effort against her than that of his
 Invincible Armada. "But I am informed," added
 she, "that when he attempted this last invasion,
 "some upon the sea coast forsook their towns,
 "fled up higher into the country, and left all
 "naked and exposed to his entrance: But I swear
 "unto you, by God, If I knew those persons,
 "or may know of any that shall do so hereafter,
 "I will make them feel what it is to be so fear-

²¹ D'Ewes, p. 466. Townshend, p. 47.

“ful in so urgent a cause”²².” By this menace, she probably gave the people to understand, that she would execute martial law upon such cowards: For there was no statute, by which a man could be punished for changing his place of abode.

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1593.

THE king of France, though he had hitherto made war on the league with great bravery and reputation, though he had this campaign gained considerable advantages over them, and though he was assisted by a considerable body of English under Norris, who carried hostilities into the heart of Brittany; was become sensible, that he never could, by force of arms alone, render himself master of his kingdom. The nearer he seemed by his military successes to approach to a full possession of the throne, the more discontent and jealousy arose among those Romanists who adhered to him; and a party was formed in his own court to elect some catholic monarch of the royal blood, if Henry should any longer refuse to satisfy them by declaring his conversion. This excellent prince was far from being a bigot to his sect; and as he deemed these theological disputes entirely subordinate to the public good, he had secretly determined, from the beginning, to come, some time or other, to the resolution required of him. He had found, on the death of his predecessor, that the hugonots, who formed the bravest and most faithful

²² D'Ewes, p. 466. Townshend, p. 48.

C H A P. part of his army, were such determined zealots,
XLIII. that, if he had, at that time, abjured their faith,
1593. they would instantly have abandoned him to the
 pretensions and usurpations of the catholics. The
 more bigotted catholics, he knew, particularly
 those of the league, had entertained such an
 unfurmountable prejudice against his person, and
 diffidence of his sincerity, that even his abjura-
 tion would not reconcile them to his title; and he
 must either expect to be entirely excluded from
 the throne, or be admitted to it on such terms as
 would leave him little more than the mere shadow
 of royalty. In this delicate situation he had resolved
 to temporize; to retain the hugonots by continu-
 ing in the profession of their religion; to gain
 the moderate catholics by giving them hopes of
 his conversion; to attach both to his person by
 conduct and success; and he hoped, either that
 the animosity, arising from war against the league,
 would make them drop gradually the question of
 religion, or that he might, in time, after some
 victories over his enemies and some conferences
 with divines, make finally, with more decency
 and dignity, that abjuration, which must have
 appeared, at first, mean, as well as suspicious
 to both parties.

Henry IV.
 embraces
 the catholic
 religion.

WHEN the people are attached to any theo-
 logical tenets, merely from a general persuasion
 or prepossession, they are easily induced, by any
 motive or authority, to change their faith in
 these mysterious subjects; as appears from the
 example of the English, who, during some reigns,

usually embraced, without scruple, the still
varying religion of their sovereigns. But the
French nation, where principles had so long
been displayed as the badges of faction, and
where each party had fortified its belief by an
animosity against the other, were not found so
pliable or inconstant; and Henry was at last con-
vinced, that the catholics of his party would
entirely abandon him, if he gave them not im-
mediate satisfaction in this particular. The hugo-
nots also, taught by experience, clearly saw,
that his desertion of them was become absolutely
necessary for the public settlement; and so general
was this persuasion among them, that, as the
duke of Sully pretends, even the divines of that
party purposely allowed themselves to be worsted
in the disputes and conferences; that the king
might more readily be convinced of the weakness
of their cause, and might more cordially and
sincerely, at least more decently, embrace the
religion, which it was so much his interest to
believe. If this self-denial, in so tender a point,
should appear incredible and supernatural in theo-
logians, it will, at least, be thought very natural,
that a prince, so little instructed in these matters
as Henry, and desirous to preserve his sincerity,
should insensibly bend his opinion to the neces-
sity of his affairs, and should believe that party
to have the best arguments, who could alone
put him in possession of a kingdom. All circum-
stances, therefore, being prepared for this great
event, that monarch renounced the protestant

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C H A P. religion, and was solemnly received, by the
XLIII. French prelates of his party, into the bosom of
1593. the church.

ELIZABETH, who was, herself, attached to the protestants, chiefly by her interests and the circumstances of her birth, and who seems to have entertained some propensity, during her whole life, to the catholic superstition, at least to the ancient ceremonies, yet pretended, to be extremely displeased with this abjuration of Henry; and she wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, she hearkened to his apologies; continued her succours both of men and money; and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common agreement.

Scotch
affairs.

THE intrigues of Spain were not limited to France and England: By means of the never failing pretence of religion, joined to the influence of money, Philip excited new disorders in Scotland, and gave fresh alarms to Elizabeth. George Ker, brother to lord Newbottle, had been taken, while he was passing secretly into Spain; and papers were found about him, by which a dangerous conspiracy of some catholic noblemen with Philip was discovered. The earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, the heads of three potent families, had entered into a confederacy with the Spanish monarch: And had stipulated

stipulated to raise all their forces ; to join them to a body of Spanish troops, which Philip promised to send into Scotland; and after re-establishing the catholic religion in that kingdom, to march with their united power, in order to effect the same purpose in England²³. Graham of Fintry, who had also entered into this conspiracy, was taken, and arraigned, and executed. Elizabeth sent lord Borough ambassador into Scotland, and exhorted the king to exercise the same severity on the three earls, to confiscate their estates, and by annexing them to the crown, both increase his own demesnes, and set an example to all his subjects of the dangers attending treason and rebellion. The advice was certainly rational, but not easy to be executed by the small revenue and limited authority of James. He desired, therefore, some supply from her of men and money; but though she had reason to deem the prosecution of the three popish earls a common cause, she never could be prevailed on to grant him the least assistance. The tenth part of the expence, which she bestowed in supporting the French king, and the States, would have sufficed to execute this purpose, more immediately essential to her security²⁴: But she seems ever to have borne some degree of malignity to James, whom she hated, both as her heir, and as the son of Mary, her hated rival and competitor.

C H A P.

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1593.

²³ Spotswood, p. 391. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 190.

²⁴ Spotswood, p. 393. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 235.

C H A P.

XLIII.

1594.

SO far from giving James assistance to prosecute the catholic conspirators, the queen rather contributed to increase his inquietude, by countenancing the turbulent disposition of the earl of Bothwel²⁵, a nobleman descended from a natural son of James V. Bothwel more than once attempted to render himself master of the king's person; and being expelled the kingdom for these traitorous enterprises, he took shelter in England, was secretly protected by the queen, and lurked near the borders, where his power lay, with a view of still committing some new violence. He succeeded at last in an attempt on the king; and by the mediation of the English ambassador, imposed dishonorable terms upon that prince: But James, by the authority of the convention of States, annulled this agreement as extorted by violence; again expelled Bothwel; and obliged him to take shelter in England. Elizabeth, pretending ignorance of the place of his retreat, never executed the treaties, by which she was bound to deliver up all rebels and fugitives to the king of Scotland. During these disorders, increased by the refractory disposition of the ecclesiastics, the prosecution of the catholic earls remained in suspense; but at last the parliament passed an act of attainder against them, and the king prepared himself to execute it by force of arms. The noblemen, though they obtained a victory over the earl of Argyle, who acted by the king's commission, found themselves

²⁵ Spotswood, p. 257, 258.

hard pressed by James himself, and agreed, on certain terms, to leave the kingdom. Bothwel, being detected in a confederacy with them, forfeited the favor of Elizabeth; and was obliged to take shelter, first in France, then in Italy, where he died, some years after, in great poverty.

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1594.

THE established authority of the queen secured her from all such attempts as James was exposed to from the mutinous disposition of his subjects; and her enemies found no other means of giving her domestic disturbance than by such traitorous and perfidious machinations, as ended in their own disgrace, and in the ruin of their criminal instruments. Roderigo Lopez, a Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being imprisoned on suspicion, confessed, that he had received a bribe to poison her from Fuentes and Ibarra, who had succeeded Parma lately deceased, in the government of the Netherlands; but he maintained, that he had no other intention than to cheat Philip of his money, and never meant to fulfil his engagement. He was, however, executed for the conspiracy; and the queen complained to Philip of these dishonorable attempts of his ministers, but could obtain no satisfaction ²⁶. York and Williams, two English traitors, were afterwards executed for a conspiracy with Ibarra, equally atrocious ²⁷.

²⁶ Camden, p. 577. Birch's Negoc. p. 15. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 381.

²⁷ Camden, p. 582.

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XLIII.

INSTEAD of avenging herself, by retaliating in a like manner, Elizabeth fought a more honorable vengeance, by supporting the king of France, and assisting him in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. Norris commanded the English forces in Brittany, and assisted at the taking of Morlaix, Quimpercorentin, and Brest, towns garrisoned by Spanish forces. In every action, the English, though they had so long enjoyed domestic peace, discovered a strong military disposition; and the queen, though herself a heroine, found more frequent occasion to reprove her generals for encouraging their temerity, than for countenancing their fear or caution ²⁸: Sir Martin Frobisher, her brave admiral, perished, with many others, before Brest. Morlaix had been promised to the English for a place of retreat; but the duke d'Aumont, the French general, eluded this promise, by making it be inserted in the capitulation, that none but catholics should be admitted into that city.

1595.

NEXT campaign, the French king, who had long carried on hostilities with Philip, was at last provoked, by the taking of Chatelet and Dourlens, and the attack of Cambray, to declare war against that monarch. Elizabeth being threatened with a new invasion in England, and with an insurrection in Ireland, recalled most of her forces,

²⁸ Camden, p. 578.

and sent Norris to command in this latter kingdom. Finding also, that the French league was almost entirely dissolved, and that the most considerable leaders had made an accommodation with their prince, she thought, that he could well support himself by his own force and valor; and she began to be more sparing, in his cause, of the blood and treasure of her subjects.

SOME disgusts, which she had received from the States, joined to the remonstrances of her frugal minister Burleigh, made her also inclined to diminish her charges on that side; and she even demanded, by her ambassador, Sir Thomas Bodley, to be reimbursed all the money, which she had expended in supporting them. The States, besides alledging the conditions of the treaty, by which they were not bound to repay her, till the conclusion of a peace, pleaded their present poverty and distress, the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the difficulty in supporting the war; much more in saving money to discharge their incumbrances. After much negociation, a new treaty was formed; by which the States engaged to free the queen immediately from the charge of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a-year; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years; to assist her with a certain number of ships; and to conclude no peace or treaty without her consent. They also bound themselves, on finishing a peace with Spain, to pay her annually the sum of a hundred thousand pounds for four years; but on

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1596.

C H A P. XLIII. this condition, that the payment should be in lieu of all demands, and that they should be supplied, though at their own charge, with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England²⁹.

THE queen still retained in her hands the cautionary towns, which were a great check on the rising power of the States; and she committed the important trust of Flushing to Sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, who had distinguished himself by his valor in the Low Countries. She gave him the preference to Essex, who expected so honorable a command; and though this nobleman was daily rising both in reputation with the people, and favor with herself, the queen, who was commonly reserved in the advancement of her courtiers, thought proper, on this occasion, to give him a refusal. Sir Thomas Baskerville was sent over to France at the head of two thousand English, with which Elizabeth, by a new treaty concluded with Henry, engaged to supply that prince. Some stipulations for mutual assistance were formed by the treaty; and all former engagements were renewed.

1597.

THIS body of English were maintained at the expence of the French king; yet did Henry esteem the supply of considerable advantage, on account of the great reputation acquired by the English, in so many fortunate enterprises, undertaken against the common enemy. In the great battle of Tournhout, gained this campaign by prince

²⁹ Camden, p. 586.

Maurice, the English auxiliaries, under Sir Francis Vere and Sir Robert Sydney, had acquired honor; and the success of that day was universally ascribed to their discipline and valor.

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THOUGH Elizabeth, at a considerable expence of blood and treasure, made war against Philip in France and the Low Countries, the most severe blows, which she gave him, were by those naval enterprises, which either she or her subjects scarcely ever intermitted during one season. In 1594, Richard Hawkins, son of Sir John, the famous navigator, procured the queen's commission, and sailed with three ships to the South Sea by the straits of Magellan: But his voyage proved unfortunate, and he himself was taken prisoner on the coast of Chili. James Lancaster was supplied the same year with three ships and a pinnace by the merchants of London; and was more fortunate in his adventure. He took thirty nine ships of the enemy; and not content with this success, he made an attack on Fernambouc in Brazil, where, he knew, great treasures were at that time lodged. As he approached the shore, he saw it lined with great numbers of the enemy; but nowise daunted at this appearance, he placed the stoutest of his men in boats, and ordered them to row with such violence, on the landing place, as to split them in pieces. By this bold action, he both deprived his men of all resource but in victory, and terrified the enemy, who fled after a short resistance. He returned home with the treasure, which he had so bravely acquired.

Naval enterprises.

C H A P. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had a-new
 XLIII. forfeited the queen's friendship by an intrigue
 1597. with a maid of honor, and who had been thrown
 into prison for this misdemeanor, no sooner recovered his liberty, than he was pushed, by his active and enterprising genius, to attempt some great action. The success of the first Spanish adventurers against Mexico and Peru had begotten an extreme avidity in Europe; and a prepossession universally took place, that, in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiscovered, there were mines and treasures far exceeding any which Cortes or Pizarro had met with. Raleigh, whose turn of mind was somewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook at his own charge the discovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the small town of St. Joseph in the isle of Trinidad, where he found no riches, he left his ship, and sailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting any thing to answer his expectations. On his return, he published an account of the country, full of the grossest and most palpable lies, that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of mankind ³⁰.

THE same year, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America; and they carried with them six ships of the queen's and twenty more, which either were fitted out

³⁰ Camden, p. 584.

at their own charge, or were furnished them by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baskerville was appointed commander of the land forces, which they carried on board. Their first design was to attempt Porto Rico, where, they knew, a rich carac was at that time stationed; but as they had not preserved the requisite secrecy, a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the English. Preparations were made in that island for their reception; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave assault, which they made on the enemy, was repulsed with loss. Hawkins soon after died; and Drake pursued his voyage to Nombre de Dios, on the isthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to pass forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place, or, if he found such a scheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the same facility, which had attended his first enterprises in those parts. The Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the passes, and had stationed troops in the woods; who so infested the English by continual alarms and skirmishes, that they were obliged to return, without being able to effect any thing. Drake himself, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died. Sir Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and

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C H A P. after having fought a battle near Cuba with a
 XLIII. Spanish fleet, of which the event was not deci-
 1597. sive, he returned to England. The Spaniards
 suffered some loss from this enterprise; but the
 English reaped no profit³¹.

THE bad success of this enterprise in the Indies made the English rather attempt the Spanish dominions in Europe, where, they heard, Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, consisting of a hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war; the rest tenders and small vessels: Twenty ships were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen, beside the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex: The navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. Both these commanders had expended great sums of their own in the armament: For such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral³².

THE fleet set sail on the first of June 1596; and meeting with a fair wind, bent its course to Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all

³¹ Monson, p. 167. ³² Camden, p. 591.

the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship, that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned, that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprize.

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AFTER a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian's on the western side of the island of Cadiz; it was, upon deliberation, resolved by the council of war to attack the ships and gallies in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash; and the admiral himself, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained great scruples with regard to it: But Essex strenuously recommended the enterprize; and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea, and gave symptoms of the most extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him, that the queen, anxious for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardor, had secretly given orders, that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack³³. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard; but Essex no sooner

³³ Monson, p. 196.

C H A P. came within reach of the enemy, than he forgot
 XLIII. the promise, which the admiral had exacted from
 1597. him; to keep in the midst of the fleet; he broke
 through and pressed forward into the thickest of
 the fire. Emulation for glory, avidity of plunder,
 animosity against the Spaniards, proved incentives
 to every one; and the enemy was soon obliged
 to slip anchor, and retreat farther into the bay,
 where they ran many of their ships aground.
 Essex then landed his men at the fort of Puntal,
 and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz,
 which the impetuous valor of the English soon
 carried sword in hand. The generosity of Essex,
 not inferior to his valor, made him stop the
 slaughter, and treat his prisoners with the greatest
 humanity, and even affability and kindness. The
 English made rich plunder in the city; but missed
 of a much richer by the resolution, which the
 duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, took of
 setting fire to the ships, in order to prevent their
 falling into the hands of the enemy. It was
 computed, that the loss, which the Spaniards
 sustained in this enterprise, amounted to twenty
 millions of ducats³⁴; besides the indignity, which
 that proud and ambitious people suffered from the
 sacking of one of their chief cities, and destroying
 in their harbour a fleet of such force and value.

ESSEX, all on fire for glory, regarded this great
 success only as a step to future achievements:
 He insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz; and

³⁴ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 97.

he undertook with four hundred men and three months provisions, to defend the place, till succours should arrive from England: But all the other seamen and soldiers were satisfied with the honor, which they had acquired; and were impatient to return home, in order to secure their plunder. Every other proposal of Essex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception; his scheme for intercepting the caracs at the Azores, for assaulting the Groyne, for taking St. Andero, and St. Sebastian: And the English, finding it so difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at last left him on the Spanish coast, attended by very few ships. He complained much to the queen, of their want of spirit in this enterprise; nor was she pleased, that they had returned without attempting to intercept the Indian fleet³⁵; but the great success, in the enterprise on Cadiz, had covered all their miscarriages: And that princess, though she admired the lofty genius of Essex, could not forbear expressing an esteem for the other officers³⁶. The admiral was created earl of Nottingham; and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex³⁷. In the preamble of the patent it was said, that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships; a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself: And he offered to maintain this plea by single

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³⁵ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 121.

³⁶ Camden, p. 593. ³⁷ Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 77.

C H A P. combat against the earl of Nottingham, or his
XLIII. sons, or any of his kindred.

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THE atchievements in the subsequent year proved not so fortunate; but as the Indian fleet very narrowly escaped the English, Philip had still reason to see the great hazard and disadvantage of that war in which he was engaged, and the superiority which the English, by their naval power and their situation, had acquired over him. The queen, having received intelligence, that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed, by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and the Groyne, and were marching troops thither, with a view of making a descent in Ireland, was resolved to prevent their enterprize, and to destroy the shipping in these harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers: She embarked on board this fleet five thousand new-levied soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops, whom Sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands. The earl of Essex, commander in chief, both of the land and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron: Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another; Sir Walter Raleigh of the third: Lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Essex: Vere was appointed marshal: Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blount first colonel. The earls of Rutland and South-

ampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with several other persons of distinction, embarked as volunteers. Essex declared his resolution either to destroy the new Armada, which threatened England, or to perish in the attempt.

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THIS powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth; but were no sooner out of harbour than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; and before they could be refitted, Essex found, that their provisions were so far spent, that it would not be safe to carry so numerous an army along with him. He dismissed, therefore, all the soldiers, except the thousand veterans under Vere; and laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or the Groyne, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting of the Indian fleet; which had at first been considered only as the second enterprize which he was to attempt.

9th July.

THE Indian fleet, in that age, by reason of the imperfection of navigation, had a stated course, as well as season, both in their going out, and in their return; and there were certain islands, at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The Azores, being one of these places, where, about this time, the fleet was expected, Essex bent his course thither; and he informed Raleigh, that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of these islands. By some accident the squadrons were separated; and Raleigh arriving first before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting

C H A P. some time for the general , to begin the attack
 XLIII. alone , lest the inhabitants should , by farther
 1597. delay , have leisure to make preparations for their
 defence. He succeeded in the enterprise ; but
 Essex , jealous of Raleigh , expressed great dis-
 pleasure at his conduct , and construed it as an
 intention of robbing the general of the glory
 which attended that action : He cashiered , there-
 fore , Sydney , Bret , Berry , and others , who
 had concurred in the attempt ; and would have
 proceeded to inflict the same punishment on
 Raleigh himself , had not lord Thomas Howard
 interposed with his good offices , and persuaded
 Raleigh , though high-spirited , to make sub-
 missions to the general. Essex , who was placable ,
 as well as hasty and passionate , was soon appeased ,
 and both received Raleigh into favor , and restored
 the other officers to their commands ³⁸. This
 incident , however , though the quarrel was
 seemingly accommodated , laid the first foundation
 of that violent animosity , which afterwards took
 place between these two gallant commanders.

Essex made next a disposition proper for inter-
 cepting the Indian galleons ; and Sir William
 Monson , whose station was the most remote of
 the fleet , having fallen in with them , made the
 signals which had been agreed on. That able
 officer , in his Memoirs , ascribes Essex's failure ,
 when he was so near attaining so mighty an
 advantage , to his want of experience in seaman-

³⁸ Monson , p. 173.

ship; and the account which he gives of the errors committed by that nobleman, appears very reasonable as well as candid³⁹. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to the Terceras, and got into the safe and well fortified harbour of Angra, before the English fleet could overtake them. Essex intercepted only three ships; which, however, were so rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

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THE causes of the miscarriage in this enterprise were much canvassed in England, upon the return of the fleet; and though the courtiers took part differently, as they affected either Essex or Raleigh, the people, in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, spirit, and generosity of the former, were inclined to justify every circumstance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as she esteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to share her favors with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, second son of lord Burleigh, was a courtier of promising hopes, much connected with Raleigh; and she made him secretary of state, preferably to Sir Thomas Bodley, whom Essex recommended for that office. But not to disgust Essex, she promoted him to the dignity of earl Marshal of England; an office which had been vacant since the death of the earl of Shrewsbury. Essex might

³⁹ Monson, p. 174.

C H A P. perceive from this conduct, that she never intended
 XLIII. to give him the entire ascendant over his rivals,
 1597 and might thence learn the necessity of moderation
 and caution. But his temper was too high for
 submission; his behaviour too open and candid
 to practise the arts of a court; and his free fallies,
 while they rendered him but more amiable in the
 eyes of good judges, gave his enemies many
 advantages against him.

14th Octob. THE war with Spain, though successful,
 having exhausted the queen's exchequer, she was
 obliged to assemble a parliament; where Yelver-
 ton, a lawyer, was chosen speaker of the house
 of commons⁴⁰. Elizabeth took care, by the
 mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper, to
 inform this assembly of the necessity of a supply.
 She said, that the wars, formerly waged in
 Europe, had commonly been conducted by the
 parties without farther view than to gain a few
 towns, or at most a province, from each other;
 but the object of the present hostilities, on the
 part of Spain, was no other than utterly to
 bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and
 her independence: That these blessings, however,
 she herself had hitherto been able to preserve, in
 spite of the devil, the pope, and the Spanish tyrant,
 and all the mischievous designs of all her enemies:
 That in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple
 to all the parliamentary supplies granted her; and
 besides expending her ordinary revenues, had

⁴⁰ See note [S] at the end of the volume.

been obliged to sell many of the crown lands: And that she could not doubt, but her subjects, in a cause where their own honor and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate taxations as should be found necessary for the common defence ⁴¹. The parliament granted her three subsidies and six fifteenths; the same supply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared so unusual, that they had voted it should never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

THE commons, this session, ventured to engage in two controversies about forms with the house of peers; a prelude to those encroachments, which, as they assumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained, that the lords failed in civility to them, by receiving their messages sitting with their hats on; and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posture: But the upper house proved, to their full satisfaction, that they were not entitled, by custom, and the usage of parliament, to any more respect ⁴². Some amendments had been made by the lords, to a bill sent up by the commons; and these amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower house took umbrage at the novelty: They pretended, that these amend-

⁴¹ D'Ewes, p. 525. 527. Townshend, p. 79.

⁴² D'Ewes, p. 539, 540. 580. 585. Townshend, p. 93, 94, 95.

C H A P. XLIII. 1597. ments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the house; and that it was not material, whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any satisfaction ⁴³.

AN application was made by way of petition to the queen, from the lower house, against monopolies; an abuse which had risen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious, though a general answer; for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments ⁴⁴. But not to give them too much encouragement in such applications, she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "That with regard to these patents, she hoped, that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem; but that they would rather leave these matters to her disposal ⁴⁵." The commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court, of high commission;

⁴³ D'Ewes, p. 576, 577.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 570. 573.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 547.

but not till they had previously obtained permission from her majesty to that purpose ⁴⁶.

C H A P.
XLIIL.

1598.

ELIZABETH had reason to foresee, that parliamentary supplies would now become more necessary to her than ever; and that the chief burthen of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negociation, he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the States; that, if possible, a general pacification might be made by common agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France, in order to remonstrate against peace; the queen, Sir Robert Cecil, and Henry Herbert; the States, Justin Nassau, and John Barnevelt. Henry said to these ministers, that his early education had been amidst war and danger, and he had passed the whole course of his life either in arms or in military preparations: That after the proofs, which he had given of his alacrity in the field, no one could doubt, but he would willingly, for his part, have continued in a course of life, to which he was now habituated, till the common enemy were reduced to such a condition as no longer to give umbrage either to him or to his allies: That no private interests of his own, not even those of his people, nothing but the most invincible necessity, could ever induce him to think of a separate peace with Philip, or make him embrace measures not

⁴⁶ D'Ewes, p. 557, 558.

C H A P. entirely conformable to the wishes of all his
 XLIII. confederates: That his kingdom, torn with the
 1598. convulsions and civil wars of near half a century,
 required some interval of repose, ere it could
 reach a condition, in which it might sustain
 itself, much more support its allies: That after
 the minds of his subjects were composed to tran-
 quillity and accustomed to obedience, after his
 finances were brought into order, and after
 agriculture and the arts were restored, France,
 instead of being a burthen, as at present, to her
 confederates, would be able to lend them effec-
 tual succour, and amply to repay them all the
 assistance, which she had received during her
 calamities: And that, if the ambition of Spain
 would not at present grant them such terms as
 they should think reasonable, he hoped, that, in
 a little time, he should attain such a situation as
 would enable him to mediate more effectually,
 and with more decisive authority, in their
 behalf.

THE ambassadors were sensible, that these
 reasons were not feigned; and they therefore
 remonstrated with the less vehemence against the
 measures, which, they saw, Henry was deter-
 mined to pursue. The States knew, that that
 monarch was interested never to permit their
 final ruin; and having received private assurances,
 that he would still notwithstanding the peace,
 give them assistance both of men and money,
 they were well pleased to remain on terms of
 amity with him. His greatest concern was to

give satisfaction to Elizabeth for this breach of treaty. He had a cordial esteem for that princess, a sympathy of manners, and a gratitude for the extraordinary favors, which he had received from her, during his greatest difficulties: And he used every expedient to apologize and atone for that measure, which necessity extorted from him. But as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not negotiate without her ally, Henry found himself obliged to conclude at Vervins, a separate peace, by which he recovered possession of all the places seized by Spain during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself leisure to pursue the domestic settlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and, in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wise government, he raised France, from the desolation and misery, in which she was involved, to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before enjoyed.

THE queen knew, that she could also, whenever she pleased, finish the war on equitable terms; and that Philip, having no claims upon her, would be glad to free himself from an enemy, who had foiled him in every contest, and who still had it so much in her power to make him feel the weight of her arms. Some of her wisest counsellors, particularly the treasurer, advised her to embrace pacific measures; and set before her the advantages of tranquillity, security, and

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Peace of
Vervins,

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frugality, as more considerable than any success, which could attend the greatest victories. But this high-spirited princess, though at first averse to war, seemed now to have attained such an ascendant over the enemy, that she was unwilling to stop the course of her prosperous fortune. She considered, that her situation and her past victories had given her entire security against any dangerous invasion; and the war must thenceforth be conducted by sudden enterprises and naval expeditions, in which she possessed an undoubted superiority: That the weak condition of Philip in the Indies, opened to her the view of the most durable advantages; and the yearly return of his treasure by sea afforded a continual prospect of important, though more temporary, successes: That, after his peace with France, if she also should consent to an accommodation, he would be able to turn his whole force against the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, which, though they had surprisingly increased their power by commerce and good government, were still unable, if not supported by their confederates, to maintain war against so potent a monarch: And that as her defence of that commonwealth was the original ground of the quarrel, it was unsafe, as well as dishonorable, to abandon its cause, till she had placed it in a state of greater security.

THESE reasons were frequently inculcated on her by the earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as his military talents, made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, from

which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction. The rivalry between this nobleman and lord Burleigh made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favorite seemed daily to acquire an ascendant over the minister. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command, equal to his shining qualities, he would have so rivetted himself in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit: But his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference, which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility; and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation; and she instantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a passionate expression, suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore, that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII. himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton, the chancellor, who loved Essex, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion by proper acknowledgments; and entreated him not to give

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The earl of
Essex.

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that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must ensue from his supporting a contest with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country: But Essex was deeply stung with the dishonor, which he had received; and seemed to think, that an insult, which might be pardoned in a woman, was become a mortal affront when it came from his sovereign. "If the vilest of all indignities," said he, "is done me, does religion enforce me to sue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes, show no sense of princes' injuries: Let *them* acknowledge an infinite absolute power on earth, that do not believe an absolute Infiniteness in heaven:" (alluding, probably, to the character and conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, who lay under the reproach of impiety) "As for me," continued he, "I have received wrong, I feel it: My cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can show in suffering every thing that can or shall be imposed upon me. Your lordship, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourself a looker on: And me a player of my own game, so you may see more than I:

“ But give me leave to tell you, that since you
 “ do but see, and I do suffer, I must of necessity
 “ feel more than you ⁴⁷. ”

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THIS spirited letter was shown by Essex to his friends; and they were so imprudent as to disseminate copies of it: Yet notwithstanding this additional provocation, the queen's partiality was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favor; and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of Burleigh, his antagonist, which happened about the same time, seemed to ensure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit. Lord Burleigh died in an advanced age; and by a rare fortune, was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually, from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute, or uncontrouled with the queen, he was still, during the course of near forty years, regarded as her principal minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her, during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she

4th Aug.

⁴⁷ See note [T] at the end of the volume.

C. H. A. P. mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business: Virtues, which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling them. Of all the queen's ministers he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality.

8th Aug.

THE last act of this able minister was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch; who, after being, in some measure, deserted by the king of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance, by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt, which they owed her, was now settled at eight hundred thousand pounds: Of this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should continue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns. They stipulated, that, if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and that in case she undertook any naval armament against

Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to hers ⁴⁸. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

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SOON after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II. who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transferred to his daughter, married to archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected, that this princess could have posterity, and as the reversion, on failure of her issue, was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the States considered this deed only as the change of a name, and they persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as of the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert, as it had done against that of Philip.

⁴⁸ Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 340.

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State of Ireland—Tyrone's rebellion—Essex sent over to Ireland—His ill success—Returns to England—Is disgraced—His intrigues—His insurrection—His trial and execution—French affairs—Mountjoy's success in Ireland—Defeat of the Spaniards and Irish—A parliament—Tyrone's submission—Queen's sickness—And death—And character.

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State of
Ireland.

THOUGH the dominion of the English over Ireland had been seemingly established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to resist; but, as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty, they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius among the natives: And though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form, from the internal combination or policy of the Irish¹.

¹ Sir J. Davies, p. 5, 6, 7, &c.

MOST of the English institutions likewise, by which that island was governed, were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of, for preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

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THE English nation, all on fire for the project of subduing France, a project, whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious; neglected all other enterprises, to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which, in time, would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army, which they maintained in Ireland, they never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred, which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: Want of security among the Irish, introducing despair, nourished still more the sloth, natural to that uncultivated people.

BUT the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities,

C H A P. XLIV. 1599. which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardor of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous².

As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, enlisting soldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors: The power of peace and war was assumed: Military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued, and, by degrees, over the English, by whose assistance they conquered: And, after their authority had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favorable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their mother country³.

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk, before

² Sir J. Davies, p. 102, 103, &c.

³ Ibid. p. 133, 134, &c.

they

they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every christian nation was cultivating with ardor every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people, whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians^{*}.

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As the rudeness and ignorance of the Irish were extreme, they were sunk below the reach of that curiosity and love of novelty, by which every other people in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes, with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example alone of the English was sufficient to render the reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilizing of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

THE animosity against the English was carried

^{*} See Spencer's account of Ireland, throughout.

C H A P. so far by the Irish, that, in an insurrection,
 XLIV. raised by two sons of the earl of Clanricarde,
 1599. they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the
 town of Athenry, though Irish; because they
 began to conform themselves to English customs,
 and had embraced a more civilized form of life,
 than had been practised by their ancestors⁵.

THE usual revenue of Ireland amounted only
 to six thousand pounds a-year⁶: The queen,
 though with much repining⁷, commonly added
 twenty thousand more, which she remitted from
 England: And with this small revenue, a body
 of a thousand men was supported, which, on
 extraordinary emergencies, was augmented to
 two thousand⁸. No wonder that a force, so
 disproportioned to the object, instead of subdu-
 ing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to pro-
 voke the natives, and to excite those frequent
 insurrections, which still farther inflamed the
 animosity between the two nations, and increas-
 ed the disorders, to which the Irish were naturally
 subject.

IN 1560, Shan O'Neale, or the great O'Neale,
 as the Irish called him, because head of that
 potent clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; but
 after some skirmishes, he was received into favor,
 upon his submission, and his promise of a more

⁵ Camden, p. 457.

⁶ Memoirs of the Sydneys, vol. i. p. 86.

⁷ Cox, p. 342. Sydney, vol. i. p. 85. 200.

⁸ Camden, p. 542. Sydney, vol. i. p. 65. 109. 183, 184.

dutiful behaviour for the future⁹. This impunity C H A P.
tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in XLIV.
1567; but being pushed by Sir Henry Sydney, 1599.
lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboy, and
rather than submit to the English, he put him-
self into the hands of some Scottish islanders,
who commonly infested those parts by their in-
cursions. The Scots, who retained a quarrel
against him on account of former injuries, vio-
lated the laws of hospitality, and murdered him
at a festival, to which they had invited him. He
was a man equally noted for his pride, his vio-
lence, his debaucheries, and his hatred of the
English nation. He is said to have put some of
his followers to death, because they endeavoured
to introduce the use of bread after the English
fashion¹⁰. Though so violent an enemy to luxury,
he was extremely addicted to riot; and was ac-
customed, after his intemperance had thrown him
into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that
he might allay the flame, which he had raised by
former excesses¹¹. Such was the life led by this
haughty barbarian, who scorned the title of
earl of Tyrone, which Elizabeth intended to
have restored to him, and who assumed the rank
and appellation of king of Ulster. He used also
to say, that, though the queen was his sovereign
lady, he never made peace with her but at her
seeking¹².

⁹ Camden, p. 385. 391.

¹¹ Ibid. Cox, p. 324.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 409.

¹² Ibid. p. 321.

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SIR HENRY SYDNEY was one of the wisest and most active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for several reigns ¹³; and he possessed his authority eleven years; during which, he struggled with many difficulties, and made some progress in repressing those disorders, which had become inveterate among the people. The earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave him disturbance, from the hereditary animosity, which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormond, descended from the only family, established in Ireland, that had steadily maintained its loyalty to the English crown ¹⁴. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France, before his designs were ripe for execution. Stukely, another fugitive, found such credit with the pope, Gregory the XIIIth, that he flattered that pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign ¹⁵. He passed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing those high promises, which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal; and follow-

¹³ Cox, p. 350.
p. 430. Cox, p. 354.

¹⁴ Camden, p. 424.

¹⁵ Ibid.

ing the fortunes of Don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

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LORD GRAY, after some interval, succeeded to the government of Ireland; and, in 1579, suppressed a new rebellion of the earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Bourks followed a few years after; occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the chieftains over their vassals¹⁶. The queen, finding Ireland so burthensome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the earl of Essex, father to that nobleman, who was afterwards her favorite, to attempt the subduing and planting of Clandeboy, Ferny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures: But that enterprize proved unfortunate; and Essex died of a distemper, occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexation, which he had conceived, from his disappointments. An university was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilizing the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants¹⁷. But the most unhappy expedient, employed in the government of Ireland, was that made use of in 1585, by Sir John Perrot, at that time lord deputy: He put arms into the

¹⁶ Stowe, p. 720.

¹⁷ Camden, p. 566.

C H A P. hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order
 XLIV. to enable them, without the assistance of the
 1599. government, to repress the incursions of the
 Scottish islanders, by which these parts were
 much infested¹⁸. At the same time, the invita-
 tions of Philip, joined to their zeal for the
 catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to
 serve in the Low Country wars; and thus Ireland,
 being provided with officers and soldiers, with
 discipline and arms, became formidable to the
 English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a
 more regular war against her ancient masters.

Tyrone's
 rebellion.

HUGH O'NEALE, nephew to Shan O'Neale, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all those disorders, by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He was noted for the vices of perfidy and cruelty, so common among uncultivated nations; and was also eminent for courage, a virtue, which their disorderly course of life requires, and which notwithstanding, being less supported by the principle of honor, is commonly more precarious among them, than among a civilized people. Tyrone, actuated by this spirit, secretly fomented the discontents of the Maguires, Odonnels, O'Rourks, Macma-

¹⁸ Nanton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 203.

hons, and other rebels; yet trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the hands of Sir William Russel, who, in the year 1594, was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain: He procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition: And having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

THE native Irish were so poor, that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were easily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expense requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses, to which they retreated. These motives rendered Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, the more willing to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient

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reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Black-water, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder's accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and, though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty¹⁹.

THE English council were now sensible, that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporizing arts, of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder, acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. It was therefore resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed, she

¹⁹ Cox, p. 415.

thought, with talents equal to the undertaking. C H A P.
 But the young earl of Essex, ambitious of fame, XLIV.
 and desirous of obtaining this government for 1599.
 himself, opposed the choice of Mountjoy; and
 represented the necessity of appointing, for that
 important employment, some person more ex-
 periented in war than this nobleman, more
 practised in business, and of higher quality and
 reputation. By this description, he was understood
 to mean himself ²⁰; and no sooner was his desire
 known, than his enemies, even more zealously
 than his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes.
 Many of his friends thought, that he never ought
 to consent, except for a short time, to accept of
 any employment, which must remove him from
 court, and prevent him from cultivating that
 personal inclination, which the queen so visibly
 bore him ²¹. His enemies hoped, that if, by his
 absence, she had once leisure to forget the charms
 of his person and conversation, his impatient and
 lofty demeanor would soon disgust a princess,
 who usually exacted such profound submission and
 implicit obedience from all her servants. But
 Essex was incapable of entering into such cautious
 views; and even Elizabeth, who was extremely
 desirous of subduing the Irish rebels, and who
 was much prepossessed in favor of Essex's genius,
 readily agreed to appoint him governor of Ireland,
 by the title of lord lieutenant. The more to
 encourage him in his undertaking, she granted

Essex sent
 over to Ire-
 land.

²⁰ Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512.

²¹ Cabala, p. 79.

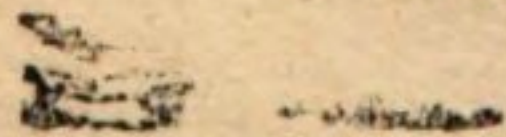
C H A P. XLIV. 1599. him by his patent more extensive authority than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant; the power of carrying on or finishing the war as he pleased, of pardoning the rebels, and of filling all the most considerable employments of the kingdom²². And to ensure him of success, she levied a numerous army of sixteen thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, which she afterwards augmented to twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse: A force, which, it was apprehended, would be able, in one campaign, to overwhelm the rebels, and make an entire conquest of Ireland. Nor did Essex's enemies, the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Cobham, throw any obstacles in the way of these preparations; but hoped that the higher the queen's expectations of success were raised, the more difficult it would be for the event to correspond to them. In a like view, they rather seconded than opposed, those exalted encomiums, which Essex's numerous and sanguine friends dispersed, of his high genius, of his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generosity, and his noble birth; nor were they displeased to observe that passionate fondness, which the people every where expressed for this nobleman. These artful politicians had studied his character; and finding, that his open and undaunted spirit, if taught temper and reserve from opposition, must become invincible, they

²² Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 366.

resolved rather to give full breath to those sails, which were already too much expanded, and to push him upon dangers; of which he seemed to make such small account²³. And the better to make advantage of his indiscretions, spies were set upon all his actions and even expressions; and his vehement spirit, which, while he was in the midst of the court and environed by his rivals, was unacquainted with disguise, could not fail, after he thought himself surrounded by none but friends, to give a pretence for malignant suspicions and constructions.

Essex left London in the month of March, attended with the acclamations of the populace; and what did him more honor, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from affection to his person, had attached themselves to his fortunes, and fought fame and military experience under so renowned a commander. The first act of authority, which he exercised, after his arrival in Ireland, was an indiscretion, but of the generous kind; and in both these respects, suitable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horse; a nobleman, who had incurred the queen's displeasure, by secretly marrying without her consent, and whom she had therefore enjoined Essex not to employ in any command under him. She no sooner heard of this instance of disobedience than she reprimanded

²³ Camden. Osborne, p. 371.



C H A P. XLIV. 1599. him, and ordered him to recal his commission to Southampton. But Essex, who had imagined, that some reasons, which he opposed to her first injunctions, had satisfied her, had the imprudence to remonstrate against these second orders²⁴; and it was not till she reiterated her commands, that he could be prevailed on to displace his friend.

His ill success.

Essex, on his landing at Dublin, deliberated with the Irish council, concerning the proper methods of carrying on the war against the rebels; and here he was guilty of a capital error, which was the ruin of his enterprize. He had always, while in England, blamed the conduct of former commanders, who artfully protracted the war, who harassed their troops in small enterprizes, and who, by agreeing to truces and temporary pacifications with the rebels, had given them leisure to recruit their broken forces²⁵. In conformity to these views, he had ever insisted upon leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the chief enemy; and his instructions had been drawn agreeably to these his declared resolutions. But the Irish counsellors persuaded him, that the season was too early for the enterprize, and that, as the morasses, in which the northern Irish usually sheltered themselves, would not, as yet, be passable to the English forces, it would be better to employ the present time in an expedition into Munster. Their secret reason

²⁴ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 421. 451.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 431. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 512.

for this advice was, that many of them possessed estates in that province, and were desirous to have the enemy dislodged from their neighbourhood²⁶: But the same selfish spirit, which had induced them to give this counsel, made them soon after disown it, when they found the bad consequences, with which it was attended²⁷.

ESSEX obliged all the rebels of Munster either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: But as the Irish, from the greatness of the queen's preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they considered their defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become sickly: and on its return to Dublin, about the middle of July, was surprisingly diminished in number. The courage of the soldiers was even much abated: For though they had prevailed in some lesser enterprises, against lord Cahir and others; yet had they sometimes met with more stout resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were wont to despise; and as they were raw troops and unexperienced, a considerable body of them had

²⁶ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 448.

²⁷ Winwood, vol. i. p. 140.

C H A P. been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior
 XLIV. number of the enemy. Essex was so enraged at
 1599. this misbehaviour, that he cashiered all the
 officers, and decimated the private men ²⁸. But
 this act of severity, though necessary, had in-
 timidated the soldiers, and increased their aversion
 to the service.

THE queen was extremely disgusted, when she
 heard, that so considerable a part of the season
 was consumed in these frivolous enterprises; and
 was still more surprised, that Essex persevered in
 the same practice, which he had so much con-
 demned in others, and which he knew to be so
 much contrary to her purpose and intention.
 That nobleman, in order to give his troops
 leisure to recruit from their sickness and fatigue,
 left the main army in quarters, and marched
 with a small body, of fifteen hundred men, into
 the county of Ophelie against the O'Connors and
 O'Mores, whom he forced to a submission: But,
 on his return to Dublin, he found the army so
 much diminished, that he wrote to the English
 council an account of its condition, and informed
 them, that, if he did not immediately receive a
 reinforcement of two thousand men, it would be
 impossible for him this season to attempt any
 thing against Tyrone. That there might be
 no pretence for farther inactivity, the queen im-
 mediately sent over the number demanded ²⁹;

²⁸ Cox, p. 421. ²⁹ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 430.
 Cox, p. 421.

and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so averse to this enterprize, and so terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted³⁰; and Essex found, that, after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarcely lead four thousand men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army; but was soon sensible, that, in so advanced a season, it would be impossible for him to effect any thing against an enemy, who, though superior in number, was determined to avoid every decisive action. He hearkened therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a place, near the two camps, was appointed for that purpose. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle: But Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission to the lord lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded to the first of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broken off by either party upon a fortnight's warning³¹. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions: And there appeared afterwards some

C H A P.

XLIV.

1599.

³⁰ Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 112, 113.

³¹ Ibid. p. 125.

C H A P. reason to suspect, that he had here commenced a
 XLIV. very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy³².

1559. So unexpected an issue of an enterprize, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex; and this disgust was much augmented by other circumstances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council, full of peevish and impatient expressions; complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be believed against him, and discovering symptoms of a mind, equally haughty and discontented. She took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction; but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders.

Essex heard at once of Elizabeth's anger, and of the promotion of his enemy, Sir Robert Cecil, to the office of master of the wards, an office to which he himself aspired: And dreading, that, if he remained any longer absent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he hastily embraced a resolution, which, he knew, had once succeeded with the earl of Leicester, the former favorite of Elizabeth. Leicester, being informed, while in the Low Countries, that his mistress was extremely displeased with his conduct, disobeyed her orders by coming over to England; and having pacified her by his presence, by his apologies, and by his flattery and insinuation, disappointed all the

³² Winwood, vol. i. p. 307. State Trials. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 514. 535. 537.

expectations of his enemies ³³. Essex, therefore, weighing more the similarity of circumstances than the difference of character between himself and Leicester, immediately set out for England; and making speedy journeys, he arrived at court before any one was in the least apprized of his intentions ³⁴. Though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened up stairs to the presence chamber, thence to the privy chamber; nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and had some private conference with her; where he was so graciously received, that, on his departure, he was heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God, that, though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home ³⁵.

BUT this placability of Elizabeth was merely the result of her surprise, and of the momentary satisfaction, which she felt on the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favorite: After she had leisure for recollection, all his faults recurred to her; and she thought it necessary, by some severe discipline, to subdue that haughty imperious spirit, who, presuming on her partiality, had pretended to domineer in her councils, to engross all her favor, and to act, in the most important

³³ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 453. ³⁴ Winwood, vol. i. p. 118. ³⁵ Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 127.

C H A P.

XLIV.

1599.

Is disgraced.

affairs, without regard to her orders and instructions. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him: She ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of lord keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of his countess, nor was so much as the intercourse of letters permitted between them. Essex dropped many expressions of humiliation and sorrow, none of resentment: He professed an entire submission to the queen's will: Declared his intention of retiring into the country, and of leading thenceforth a private life, remote from courts and business: But though he affected to be so entirely cured of his aspiring ambition, the vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty spirit, and he fell into a distemper, which seemed to put his life in danger.

THE queen had always declared to all the world, and even to the earl himself, that the purpose of her severity was to correct, not to ruin him³⁶; and when she heard of his sickness, she was not a little alarmed with his situation. She ordered eight physicians of the best reputation and experience to consult of his case; and being

³⁶ Birch's Memoirs, p. 444, 445. Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 196.

informed, that the issue was much to be apprehended, she sent Dr. James to him with some broth, and desired that physician to deliver him a message, which she probably deemed of still greater virtue; that, if she thought such a step consistent with her honor, she would herself pay him a visit. The bystanders, who carefully observed her countenance, remarked, that, in pronouncing these words, her eyes were suffused with tears ³⁷.

WHEN these symptoms of the queen's returning affection towards Essex were known, they gave a sensible alarm to the faction, which had declared their opposition to him. Sir Walter Raleigh, in particular, the most violent as well as the most ambitious of his enemies, was so affected with the appearance of this sudden revolution, that he was seized with sickness in his turn; and the queen was obliged to apply the same salve to his wound, and to send him a favorable message, expressing her desire of his recovery ³⁸.

THE medicine, which the queen administered to these aspiring rivals, was successful with both; and Essex, being now allowed the company of his countess, and having entertained more promising hopes of his future fortunes, was so much restored in his health, as to be thought past danger. A belief was instilled into Elizabeth, that his distemper had been entirely counterfeit,

1600.

³⁷ Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 151.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 139.

C H A P. in order to move her compassion³⁹; and she
 XLIV. relapsed into her former rigor against him. He
 1600. wrote her a letter, and sent her a rich present on
 New-Year's day; as was usual with the courtiers
 at that time: She read the letter, but rejected
 the present⁴⁰. After some interval, however,
 of severity, she allowed him to retire to his own
 house: And though he remained still under
 custody, and was sequestered from all company,
 he was so grateful for this mark of lenity, that
 he sent her a letter of thanks on the occasion.
 "This farther degree of goodness," said he,
 "doth sound in my ears, as if your majesty
 "spake these words, *Die not, Essex; for though*
 " *I punish thine offence, and humble thee for thy*
 " *good, yet will I one day be served again by thee.*
 "My prostrate soul makes this answer: *I hope*
 " *for that blessed day.* And in expectation of it,
 "all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly,
 "patiently, and chearfully borne by me⁴¹."
 The countess of Essex, daughter of Sir Francis
 Walsingham, possessed, as well as her husband,
 a refined taste in literature; and the chief con-
 solation which Essex enjoyed, during this period
 of anxiety and expectation, consisted in her
 company, and in reading with her those instruc-
 tive and entertaining authors, which, even during
 the time of his greatest prosperity, he had never
 entirely neglected.

³⁹ Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 153. ⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 155,
 156. ⁴¹ Birch's Memoirs, p. 444.

THERE were several incidents, which kept alive the queen's anger against Essex. Every account which she received from Ireland, convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes, to which he had employed so much force and treasure. Tyrone, so far from being quelled, had thought proper, in less than three months, to break the truce; and joining with O'Donel, and other rebels, had over-run almost the whole kingdom. He boasted, that he was certain of receiving a supply of men, money, and arms from Spain: He pretended to be champion of the catholic religion: And he openly exulted in the presence of a phoenix plume, which the pope, Clement VIII. in order to encourage him in the prosecution of so good a cause, had consecrated, and had conferred upon him⁴². The queen, that she might check his progress, returned to her former intention, of appointing Mountjoy lord-deputy; and though that nobleman, who was an intimate friend of Essex, and desired his return to the government of Ireland, did at first very earnestly excuse himself, on account of his bad state of health, she obliged him to accept of the employment. Mountjoy found the Island almost in a desperate condition; but being a man of capacity and vigor, he was so little discouraged, that he immediately advanced against Tyrone in Ulster. He penetrated into the heart

C H A P.

XLIV.

1600.

⁴² Camden, p. 617.

C H A P. of that country, the chief seat of the rebels: He
 XLIV. fortified Derry and Mount-Norris, in order to—
 1600. bridle the Irish: He chased them from the field,
 and obliged them to take shelter in the woods
 and morasses: He employed, with equal success,
 Sir George Carew in Munster: And by these
 promising enterprises, he gave new life to the
 queen's authority in that Island.

As the comparison of Mountjoy's administration
 with that of Essex, contributed to alienate Eliza-
 beth from her favorite, she received additional
 disgust from the partiality of the people, who,
 prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's
 merit, complained of the injustice done him by
 his removal from court, and by his confinement.
 Libels were secretly dispersed against Cecil and
 Raleigh, and all his enemies: And his popularity,
 which was always great, seemed rather to be
 increased than diminished by his misfortunes.
 Elizabeth, in order to justify to the public her
 conduct with regard to him, had often expressed
 her intentions of having him tried in the Star-
 chamber for his offences: But her tenderness for
 him prevailed at last over her severity; and she
 was contented to have him only examined by the
 privy-council. The attorney-general, Coke,
 opened the cause against him, and treated him
 with the cruelty and insolence, which that great
 lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate.
 He displayed in the strongest colors, all the faults
 committed by Essex in his administration of
 Ireland: His making Southampton general of the

horse, contrary to the queen's injunctions; his deserting the enterprize against Tyrone, and marching to Leinster and Munster; his conferring knighthood on too many persons; his secret conference with Tyrone; and his sudden return from Ireland, in contempt of her majesty's commands. He also exaggerated the indignity of the conditions, which Tyrone had been allowed to propose; odious and abominable conditions, said he, a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himself and every traitor in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all of them ⁴³. The solicitor-general, Fleming, insisted upon the wretched situation, in which the earl had left that kingdom; and Francis, son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had been lord-keeper in the beginning of the present reign, closed the charge with displaying the undutiful expressions contained in some letters written by the earl.

ESSEX, when he came to plead in his own defence, renounced, with great submission and humility, all pretensions to an apology ⁴⁴; and declared his resolution never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his sovereign. He said, that, having severed himself from the world, and abjured all sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple to confess every failing or error, into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him;

⁴³ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 449.

⁴⁴ Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 200.

C H A P. XLIV. 1600. that his inward sorrow for his offences against her majesty was so profound, that it exceeded all his outward crosses and afflictions, nor had he any scruple of submitting to a public confession of whatever she had been pleased to impute to him; that, in his acknowledgments, he retained only one reserve, which he never would relinquish but with his life, the assertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty the best service which his poor abilities would permit; and that, if this sentiment were allowed by the council, he willingly acquiesced in any condemnation or sentence which they could pronounce against him. This submission was uttered with so much eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience⁴⁵. All the privy-counsellors, in giving their judgment, made no scruple of doing the earl justice, with regard to the loyalty of his intentions. Even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity. And the sentence pronounced by the Lord keeper, (to which the council assented) was in these words. "If this cause," said he, "had been heard in the Star-Chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that prison, which belongeth to a man of his quality, the

⁴⁵ Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 200, 201.

“ Tower. But since we are now in another C H A P.
 “ place, and in a course of favor, my censure is, XLIV
 “ that the earl of Essex is not to execute the 1600.
 “ office of a counsellor, nor that of earl marshal
 “ of England, nor of master of the ordnance;
 “ and to return to his own house, there to con-
 “ tinue a prisoner, till it shall please her majesty
 “ to release this and all the rest of his sen-
 “ tence ⁴⁶. ” The earl of Cumberland made a
 slight opposition to this sentence; and said, that,
 if he thought it would stand, he would have
 required a little more time to deliberate; that he
 deemed it somewhat severe; and that any com-
 mander in chief might easily incur a like penalty.
 But, however, added he, in confidence of her
 majesty’s mercy, I agree with the rest. The earl
 of Worcester delivered his opinion in a couple
 of Latin verses; importing, that, where the
 Gods are offended, even misfortunes ought to be
 imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuse
 for transgressions against the Divinity.

BACON, so much distinguished afterwards by
 his high offices, and still more by his profound
 genius for the sciences, was nearly allied to the
 Cecil family, being nephew to lord Burleigh,
 and cousin-german to the secretary: But not-
 withstanding his extraordinary talents, he had
 met with so little protection from his powerful
 relations, that he had not yet obtained any pre-
 ferment in the law, which was his profession,

⁴⁶ Birch’s Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 454. Camden, p. 626, 627.

C H A P.

XLIV.

1600.

But Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon; had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of solicitor-general; and in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land to the value of eighteen hundred pounds⁴⁷. The public could ill excuse Bacon's appearance before the council, against so munificent a benefactor; though he acted in obedience to the queen's commands: But she was so well pleased with his behaviour, that she imposed on him a new task, of drawing a narrative of that day's proceedings, in order to satisfy the public of the justice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon, who wanted firmness of character, more than humanity, gave to the whole transaction the most favorable turn for Essex; and, in particular, painted out, in elaborate expression, the dutiful submission, which that nobleman discovered in the defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped she meant that of herself⁴⁸.

ALL the world, indeed, expected, that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit⁴⁹; perhaps, as is usual in reconcilements founded

⁴⁷ Cabala, p. 78.⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 83.⁴⁹ Winwood, vol. i. p. 254.

on inclination, would acquire an additional ascendant over the queen, and after all his disgraces, would again appear more a favorite than ever. They were confirmed in this hope, when they saw, that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court⁵⁰, he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty, and that all his friends had access to him, Essex himself seemed determined to persevere in that conduct, which had hitherto been so successful, and which the queen, by all this discipline, had endeavoured to render habitual to him: He wrote to her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness, till she deigned to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment: And that he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field; let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven; till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding." The queen was much pleased with these sentiments, and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond with his expressions; that he had tried her patience a long time, and it was but fitting she should now make some experiment

C H A P.
XLIV.
1600.

⁵⁰ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 462.

C H A P. of his submission; that her father would never
 XLIV. have pardoned so much obstinacy; but that, if
 1600. the furnace of affliction produced such good
 effects, she should ever after have the better
 opinion of her chemistry ⁵¹.

THE earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of
 sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring,
 he patiently expected that the queen would
 renew it, and he considered this event as the
 critical circumstance of his life, which would
 determine whether he could ever hope to be
 reinstated in credit and authority ⁵². But Eliza-
 beth, though gracious in her deportment, was
 of a temper somewhat haughty and severe; and
 being continually surrounded with Essex's enemies,
 means were found to persuade her, that his lofty
 spirit was not yet sufficiently subdued, and that
 he must undergo this farther trial, before he
 could again be safely received into favor. She
 therefore denied his request; and even added,
 in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable
 beast must be stinted in his provender ⁵³.

His in-
 trigues.

THIS rigor, pushed one step too far, proved
 the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was
 the source of infinite sorrow and vexation to the
 queen herself. Essex, who had with great diffi-
 culty so long subdued his proud spirit, and
 whose patience was now exhausted, imagining
 that the queen was entirely inexorable, burst at

⁵¹ Camden, p. 628. ⁵² Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii.
 p. 472. ⁵³ Camden, p. 628.

once all restraints of submission and of prudence, and determined to seek relief, by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies. Even during his greatest favor he had ever been accustomed to carry matters with a high hand towards his sovereign; and as this practice gratified his own temper, and was sometimes successful, he had imprudently imagined, that it was the only proper method of managing her⁵⁴: But being now reduced to despair, he gave entire reins to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Intoxicated with the public favor, which he already possessed, he practised a new every art of popularity; and endeavoured to increase the general goodwill by a hospitable manner of life, little suited to his situation and circumstances. His former employments had given him great connexions with men of the military profession; and he now entertained, by additional caresses and civilities, a friendship with all desperate adventurers, whose attachment, he hoped, might, in his present views, prove serviceable to him. He secretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief trust lay in the puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex-house; he had daily prayers and sermons in his family; and he invited all the zealots in London to attend

C H A P.
XLIV.
1660.

⁵⁴ Cabala, p. 79.

§ H A P. those pious exercises. Such was the disposition
 XLIV. now beginning to prevail among the English,
 1600. that, instead of feasting and public spectacles, the
 methods anciently practised to gain the populace,
 nothing so effectually ingratiated an ambitious
 leader with the public, as these fanatical enter-
 tainments. And as the puritanical preachers fre-
 quently inculcated in their sermons the doctrine
 of resistance to the civil magistrate, they prepared
 the minds of their hearers for those seditious
 projects, which Essex was secretly meditating⁵⁵.

BUT the greatest imprudence of this nobleman
 proceeded from the openness of his temper, by
 which he was ill qualified to succeed in such
 difficult and dangerous enterprises. He indulged
 himself in great liberties of speech, and was even
 heard to say of the queen, that she was now
 grown an old woman, and was become as crook-
 ed in her mind as in her body⁵⁶. Some court
 ladies, whose favors Essex had formerly neglected,
 carried her these stories, and incensed her to a
 high degree against him. Elizabeth was ever
 remarkably jealous on this head; and though she
 was now approaching to her seventieth, year,
 she allowed her courtiers⁵⁷ and even foreign
 ambassadors⁵⁸, to compliment her upon her beauty;

⁵⁵ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 463. Camden, p. 630.

⁵⁶ Camden, p. 629. Osborne, p. 397. Sir Walter
 Raleigh's Prerogative of parliament, p. 43.

⁵⁷ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 442, 443.

⁵⁸ Sydney's Letters, vol. ii. p. 171.

nor had all her good sense been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity⁹⁹. C H A P.
XLIV.

THERE was also an expedient employed by Essex, which, if possible, was more provoking to the queen than those sarcasms on her age and deformity; and that was, his secret applications to the king of Scots, her heir and successor. That prince had this year very narrowly escaped a dangerous, though ill formed, conspiracy of the earl of Gowry; and even his deliverance was attended with this disagreeable circumstance, that the obstinate ecclesiastics persisted, in spite of the most incontestible evidence, to maintain to his face, that there had been no such conspiracy. James, harassed with his turbulent and factious subjects, cast a wishful eye to the succession of England; and in proportion as the queen advanced in years, his desire increased of mounting that throne, on which, besides acquiring a great addition of power and splendor, he hoped to govern a people, so much more tractable and submissive. He negotiated with all the courts of Europe, in order to ensure himself friends and partisans: He even neglected not the court of Rome and that of Spain; and though he engaged himself in no positive promise, he flattered the catholics with hopes, that, in the event of his succession, they might expect some more liberty than was at present indulged them. Elizabeth was the only sovereign in Europe to whom

1600.

⁹⁹ See note [V] at the end of the volume.

C H A P. he never dared to mention his right of succession:
 XLIV. He knew, that, though her advanced age might
 1600 now invite her to think of fixing an heir to the
 crown, she never could bear the prospect of her
 own death without horror, and was determined
 still to retain him, and all other competitors, in
 an entire dependence upon her.

Essex was descended by females from the
 royal family; and some of his sanguine partisans
 had been so imprudent as to mention his name
 among those of other pretenders to the crown;
 but the earl took care, by means of Henry Lee,
 whom he secretly sent into Scotland, to assure
 James, that, so far from entertaining such ambi-
 tious views, he was determined to use every
 expedient for extorting an immediate declaration
 in favor of that monarch's right of succession.
 James willingly hearkened to this proposal; but
 did not approve of the violent methods which
 Essex intended to employ. Essex had communi-
 cated his scheme to Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland;
 and as no man ever commanded more the cordial
 affection and attachment of his friends, he had
 even engaged a person of that virtue and pru-
 dence to entertain thoughts of bringing over
 part of his army into England, and of forcing
 the queen to declare the king of Scots her suc-
 cessor⁶⁰. And such was Essex's impatient ardor,
 that, though James declined this dangerous ex-
 pedient, he still endeavoured to persuade Mount-

⁶⁰ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 471.

joy not to desist from the project: But the deputy, who thought that such violence, though it might be prudent, and even justifiable, when supported by a sovereign prince, next heir to the crown, would be rash and criminal, if attempted by subjects, absolutely refused his concurrence. The correspondence, however, between Essex and the court of Scotland was still conducted with great secrecy and cordiality; and that nobleman, besides conciliating the favor of James, represented all his own adversaries as enemies to that prince's succession, and as men entirely devoted to the interests of Spain, and partisans of the chimerical title of the Infanta.

C H A P.
XLIV.
1600.

THE Infanta and the archduke, Albert, had made some advances to the queen for peace; and Boulogne, as a neutral town, was chosen for the place of conference. Sir Henry Nevil, the English resident in France, Herbert, Edmondes, and Beale, were sent thither as ambassadors from England, and negociated with Zuniga, Carillo, Richardot, and Verheiken, ministers of Spain and the archduke: But the conferences were soon broken off, by disputes with regard to the ceremonial. Among the European states England had ever been allowed the precedence above Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and the other kingdoms, of which the Spanish monarchy was composed; and Elizabeth insisted, that this ancient right was not lost on account of the junction of these states, and that that monarchy, in its present situation, though it surpassed the English

16th May

CHAP. XLIV. in extent, as well as in power, could not be compared with it in point of antiquity, the only durable and regular foundation of precedence among kingdoms as well as noble families. That she might show, however, a pacific disposition, she was content to yield to an equality; but the Spanish ministers, as their nation had always disputed precedence even with France, to which England yielded, would proceed no farther in the conference, till their superiority of rank were acknowledged⁶¹. During the preparations for this abortive negociation, the earl of Nottingham, the admiral, lord Buckhurst, treasurer, and secretary Cecil, had discovered their inclination to peace; but as the English nation, flushed with success, and sanguine in their hopes of plunder and conquest, were in general averse to that measure, it was easy for a person so popular as Essex, to infuse into the multitude an opinion, that these ministers had sacrificed the interests of their country to Spain, and would even make no scruple of receiving a sovereign from that hostile nation.

1601. BUT Essex, not content with these arts for decrying his adversaries, proceeded to concert more violent methods of ruining them; chiefly instigated by Cuffe, his secretary, a man of a bold and arrogant spirit, who had acquired a great ascendant over his patron. A select council of malecontents was formed, who commonly

⁶¹ Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 186—226.

met at Drury-house, and were composed of Sir Charles Davers, to whom the house belonged; the earl of Southampton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davies, and John Littleton; and Essex, who boasted, that he had a hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note, at his devotion, and who trusted still more to his authority with the populace, communicated to his associates those secret designs with which his confidence in so powerful a party had inspired him. Among other criminal projects, the result of blind rage and despair, he deliberated with them concerning the method of taking arms; and asked their opinion whether he had best begin with seizing the palace or the Tower, or set out with making himself master at once of both places. The first enterprize being preferred, a method was concerted for executing it. It was agreed, that Sir Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should possess himself of the palace gates; that Davies should seize the hall, Davers, the guard-chamber, and presence-chamber; and that Essex should rush in from the Meuse, attended by a body of his partisans; should entreat the queen, with all demonstrations of humility, to remove his enemies; should oblige her to assemble a parliament; and should with common consent settle a new plan of government⁶².

C H A P.
XLIV.
1601.

His insur-
rection.

⁶² Camden, p. 630. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 464. State Trials. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 542, 543.

C H A P.

XLIV.

1601.

7th Feb.

WHILE these desperate projects were in agitation, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen; and she sent Robert Sacville, son of the treasurer, to Essex-house, on pretence of a visit, but, in reality, with a view of discovering whether there were in that place any unusual concourse of people, or any extraordinary preparations, which might threaten an insurrection. Soon after, Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house; and while he was musing on this circumstance, and comparing it with the late unexpected visit from Sacville, a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He concluded, that all his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected; and that the easiest punishment which he had reason to apprehend, was a new and more severe confinement: He therefore excused himself to the council on pretence of an indisposition; and he immediately dispatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. They deliberated, whether they should abandon all their projects, and fly the kingdom; or instantly seize the palace with the force which they could assemble; or rely upon the affections of the citizens, who were generally known to have a great attachment to the earl. Essex declared against the first expedient, and professed himself determined to undergo any fate rather than submit to live the life of a fugitive. To

seize the palace seemed impracticable without more preparations; especially as the queen seemed now aware of their projects, and, as they heard, had used the precaution of doubling her ordinary guards. There remained, therefore, no expedient but that of betaking themselves to the city; and while the prudence and feasibility of this resolution was under debate, a person arrived, who, as if he had received a commission for the purpose, gave them assurance of the affections of the Londoners, and affirmed, that they might securely rest any project on that foundation. The popularity of Essex had chiefly buoyed him up in all his vain undertakings; and he fondly imagined, that, with no other assistance than the good will of the multitude, he might overturn Elizabeth's government, confirmed by time, revered for wisdom, supported by vigor, and concurring with the general sentiments of the nation. The wild project of raising the city was immediately resolved on; the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emissaries were dispatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreating their presence and assistance.

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XLIV.
1601.

NEXT day, there appeared at Essex-house the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Essex informed them of the danger, to which, he pretended, the machinations of his enemies

8th Feb.

C H A P. XLIV. 1601. exposed him. To some, he said, that he would throw himself at the queen's feet, and crave her justice and protection: To others, he boasted of his interest in the city, and affirmed, that, whatever might happen, this resource could never fail him. The queen was informed of these designs, by means of intelligence, conveyed, as is supposed, to Raleigh, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and having ordered the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, she sent Egerton, lord keeper, to Essex-house, with the earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, controller, and Popham, chief justice, in order to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. They were with difficulty admitted through a wicket; but all their servants were excluded, except the pursebearer. After some altercation, in which they charged Essex's retainers, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and were menaced in their turn by the angry multitude, who surrounded them, the earl, who found, that matters were past recal, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about two hundred attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his passage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwel. He cried aloud, *For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life*; and then proceeded to the house of Smith the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement; but though he told them, that

England was sold to the Infanta, and exhorted them to arm instantly, otherwise they could not do him any service, no one showed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex, meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, and hearing, that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to despair of success, and thought of retreating to his own house. He found the streets in his passage barricadoed and guarded by the citizens under the command of Sir John Levison. In his attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman, to whom he bore great friendship, was killed, with two or three of the Londoners; and the earl himself, attended by a few of his partisans (for the greater part began secretly to withdraw themselves) retired towards the river, and taking boat, arrived at Essex-house. He there found, that Gorges, whom he had sent before to capitulate with the lord keeper and the other counsellors, had given all of them their liberty, and had gone to court with them. He was now reduced to despair; and appeared determined, in prosecution of lord Sandys' advice, to defend himself to the last extremity, and rather to perish, like a brave man, with his sword in his hand, than basely by the hands of the executioner: But after some parley, and after demanding in vain, first hostages, then conditions, from the besiegers, he

C H A P.

XLIV.

1601.

C H A P. surrendered at discretion ; requesting only civil
XLIV. treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing ⁶³.

1601.

19th Feb.
His trial.

THE queen, who, during all this commotion, had behaved with as great tranquillity and security, as if there had only passed a fray in the streets, in which she was nowise concerned ⁶⁴, soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the criminals. The earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, where Buckhurst acted as lord steward. The guilt of the prisoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, besides the insurrection known to every body, the treasonable conferences at Drury-house were proved by undoubted evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced in court: The confessions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwel, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Davers, Blount, and Davies, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age. Essex's best friends were scandalized at his assurance in insisting so positively on his innocence, and the goodness of his intentions; and still more at his vindictive disposition, in accusing, without any appearance of reason, secretary Cecil as a partizan of the Infanta's title. The secretary, who had expected this charge, stepped into the court, and challenged Essex to produce his authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous ⁶⁵. When sentence

⁶³ Camden, p. 632. ⁶⁴ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 469.

⁶⁵ Bacon, vol. iv. p. 530.

was pronounced, Essex spoke like a man who expected nothing but death: But he added, that he should be sorry, if he were represented to the queen as a person that despised her clemency; though he should not, he believed, make any cringing submissions to obtain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and submissive: He entreated the good offices of the peers in so modest and becoming a manner, as excited compassion in every one.

THE most remarkable circumstance in Essex's trial was Bacon's appearance against him. He was none of the crown lawyers; so was not obliged by his office to assist at this trial: Yet did he not scruple, in order to obtain the queen's favor, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whose generosity he had often experienced. He compared Essex's conduct, in pretending to fear the attempts of his adversaries, to that of Pisistratus, the Athenian, who cut and wounded his own body; and making the people believe, that his enemies had committed the violence, obtained a guard for his person, by whose assistance he afterwards subdued the liberties of his country.

AFTER Essex had passed some days in the solitude and reflections of a prison, his proud heart was at last subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion; a principle, which he had before attempted to make the instrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and

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1601.

C. H. A. P. prevailed over every other motive and considera-
 XLIV. tion. His spiritual directors persuaded him, that he
 1601. never could obtain the pardon of Heaven, unless
 he made a full confession of his disloyalty; and
 he gave in to the council an account of all
 his criminal designs, as well as of his corre-
 spondence with the king of Scots. He spared
 not even his most intimate friends, such as lord
 Mountjoy, whom he had engaged in these
 conspiracies; and he sought to pacify his present
 remorse, by making such atonements, as, in
 any other period of his life, he would have
 deemed more blameable than those attempts
 themselves, which were the objects of his peni-
 tence⁶⁶. Sir Harry Nevil, in particular, a man
 of merit, he accused of a correspondence with
 the conspirators; though it appears, that this
 gentleman had never assented to the proposals
 made him, and was no farther criminal than in
 not revealing the earl's treason; an office to which
 every man of honor naturally bears the strongest
 reluctance⁶⁷. Nevil was thrown into prison, and
 underwent a severe persecution: But as the queen
 found Mountjoy an able and successful command-
 er, she continued him in his government, and
 sacrificed her resentment to the public service.

ELIZABETH affected extremely the praise of
 clemency; and in every great example, which
 she had made during her reign, she had always
 appeared full of reluctance and hesitation: But

⁶⁶ Winwood, vol. i. p. 300. ⁶⁷ Ibid. vol. i. p. 302.

the present situation of Essex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the most real agitation and irresolution. She felt a perpetual combat between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion, the care of her own safety and concern for her favorite; and her situation, during this interval, was perhaps more an object of pity, than that to which Essex himself was reduced. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. Essex's enemies told her, that he himself desired to die, and had assured her, that she could never be in safety while he lived: It is likely, that this proof of penitence and of concern for her would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all the fond affection, which she had so long indulged towards the unhappy prisoner. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy, in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear; and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution was private in the Tower, agreeably to his own request. He was apprehensive, he said, lest the favor and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the afflicting hand of Heaven was the only proper sentiment,

C H A P.

XLIV.

1601.

25th Feb.

and execu-
tion.

C H A P. XLIV. 1604. which he could indulge ⁶⁸. And the queen, no doubt, thought that prudence required the removing of so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye. Sir Walter Raleigh, who came to the Tower on purpose, and who beheld Essex's execution from a window, increased much by this action the general hatred, under which he already labored: It was thought, that his sole intention was to feast his eyes with the death of an enemy; and no apology, which he could make for so ungenerous a conduct, could be accepted by the public. The cruelty and animosity, with which he urged on Essex's fate, even when Cecil relented ⁶⁹, were still regarded as the principles of this unmanly behaviour.

THE earl of Essex was but thirty-four years of age, when his rashness, imprudence, and violence brought him to this untimely end. We must here, as in many other instances, lament the inconstancy of human nature, that a person endowed with so many noble virtues, generosity, sincerity, friendship, valor, eloquence, and industry, should, in the later period of his life, have given reins to his ungovernable passions, and involved, not only himself, but many of his friends, in utter ruin. The queen's tenderness and passion for him, as it was the cause of those premature honors, which he attained, seems on the whole, the chief circumstance, which brought

⁶⁸ Dr. Barlow's sermon on Essex's execution. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 534.

⁶⁹ Murdin, p. 811.

on his unhappy fate. Confident of her partiality towards him, as well as of his own merit, he treated her with a haughtiness, which neither her love nor her dignity could bear; and as her amorous inclinations, in so advanced an age, would naturally make her appear ridiculous, if not odious, in his eyes, he was engaged, by an imprudent openness, of which he made profession, to discover too easily those sentiments to her. The many reconciliations and returns of affection, of which he had still made advantage, induced him to venture on new provocations, till he pushed her beyond all bounds of patience; and he forgot, that though the sentiments of the woman were ever strong in her, those of the sovereign had still in the end appeared predominant.

C H A P.
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1601.

SOME of Essex's associates, Cusse, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davies, were tried and condemned, and all of these, except Davies, were executed. The queen pardoned the rest; being persuaded that they were drawn in merely from their friendship to that nobleman, and their care of his safety; and were ignorant of the more criminal part of his intentions. Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty; but he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign.

THE king of Scots, apprehensive lest his correspondence with Essex might have been discovered, and have given offence to Elizabeth, sent the earl of Marre and lord Kinloss as ambassadors to England, in order to congratulate the queen

C H A P. on her escape from the late insurrection and con-
 XLIV. spiracy. They were also ordered to make secret
 1601. inquiry, whether any measures had been taken
 by her for excluding him from the succession, as
 well as to discover the inclinations of the chief
 nobility and counsellors, in case of the queen's
 demise⁷⁰. They found the dispositions of men as
 favorable as they could wish; and they even en-
 tered into a correspondence with secretary Cecil,
 whose influence, after the fall of Essex, was now
 uncontrouled⁷¹, and who was resolved, by this
 policy, to acquire, in time, the confidence of
 the successor. He knew how jealous Elizabeth
 ever was of her authority, and he therefore care-
 fully concealed from her his attachment to James:
 But he afterwards asserted, that nothing could
 be more advantageous to her, than this corre-
 spondence; because the king of Scots, secure of
 mounting the throne by his undoubted title,
 aided by those connexions with the English minis-
 try, was the less likely to give any disturbance
 to the present sovereign. He also persuaded that
 prince to remain in quiet, and patiently to expect,
 that time should open to him the inheritance of
 the crown, without pushing his friends on des-
 perate enterprizes, which would totally incapa-
 citate them from serving him. James's equity,
 as well as his natural facility of disposition, easily
 inclined him to embrace that resolution⁷²; and

⁷⁰ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 510.

⁷¹ Osborne, p. 615. ⁷² Spotswood, p. 471, 472.

in this manner the minds of the English were silently, but universally disposed to admit, without opposition, the succession of the Scottish line: The death of Essex, by putting an end to faction, had been rather favorable than prejudicial to that great event.

C H A P.

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1601.

THE French king, who was little prepossessed in favor of James, and who, for obvious reasons, was averse to the union of England and Scotland⁷³, made his ambassador drop some hints to Cecil of Henry's willingness to concur in any measure for disappointing the hopes of the Scottish monarch; but as Cecil showed an entire disapprobation of such schemes, the court of France took no farther steps in that matter; and thus, the only foreign power, which could give much disturbance to James's succession, was induced to acquiesce in it⁷⁴. Henry made a journey this summer to Calais; and the queen, hearing of his intentions, went to Dover, in hopes of having a personal interview with a monarch, whom, of all others, she most loved and most respected. The king of France, who felt the same sentiments towards her, would gladly have accepted of the proposal; but as many difficulties occurred, it appeared necessary to lay aside, by common consent, the project of an interview. Elizabeth, however, wrote successively two letters to Henry, one by Edmondes, another by Sir Robert Sydney; in which she expressed a desire of conferring,

French
affairs.

⁷³ Winwood, vol. i. p. 352. ⁷⁴ Spotswood, p. 471.

C H A P. about a business of importance, with some minister in whom that prince reposed entire confidence. The marquis of Rosni, the king's favorite and prime minister, came to Dover in disguise; and the Memoirs of that able statesman contain a full account of his conference with Elizabeth. This princess had formed a scheme for establishing, in conjunction with Henry, a new system in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the erection of new states on the ruins of the house of Austria. She had even the prudence to foresee the perils, which might ensue from the aggrandizement of her ally; and she purposed to unite all the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries in one republic, in order to form a perpetual barrier against the dangerous increase of the French, as well as of the Spanish, monarchy. Henry had himself long meditated such a project against the Austrian family; and Rosni could not forbear expressing his astonishment, when he found that Elizabeth and his master, though they had never communicated their sentiments on this subject, not only had entered into the same general views, but had also formed the same plan for their execution. The affairs, however, of France were not yet brought to a situation, which might enable Henry to begin that great enterprise; and Rosni satisfied the queen, that it would be necessary to postpone for some years their united attack on the house of Austria. He departed, filled with just admiration at the solidity of Elizabeth's judgment, and the

the greatness of her mind; and he owns, that she was entirely worthy of that high reputation, which she enjoyed in Europe.

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XLIV.
1601.

THE queen's magnanimity in forming such extensive projects was the more remarkable, as, besides her having fallen so far into the decline of life, the affairs of Ireland, though conducted with abilities and success, were still in disorder, and made a great diversion of her forces. The expense, incurred by this war, lay heavy upon her narrow revenues; and her ministers, taking advantage of her disposition to frugality, proposed to her an expedient of saving, which, though she at first disapproved of it, she was at last induced to embrace. It was represented to her, that the great sums of money, remitted to Ireland for the pay of the English forces, came, by the necessary course of circulation, into the hands of the rebels, and enabled them to buy abroad all necessary supplies of arms and ammunition, which, from the extreme poverty of that kingdom and its want of every useful commodity, they could not otherwise find means to purchase. It was therefore recommended to her, that she should pay her forces in base money; and it was asserted, that, besides the great saving to the revenue, this species of coin could never be exported with advantage, and would not pass in any foreign market. Some of her wiser counsellors maintained, that, if the pay of the soldiers were raised in proportion, the Irish rebels would necessarily reap the same benefit from the base money, which

C H A P. would always be taken at a rate suitable to its value; if the pay were not raised, there would be danger of a mutiny among the troops, who, whatever names might be affixed to the pieces of metal, would soon find from experience, that they were defrauded in their income ⁷⁵. But Elizabeth, though she justly valued herself, on fixing the standard of the English coin, much debased by her predecessors, and had innovated very little in that delicate article, was seduced by the specious arguments employed by the treasurer on this occasion; and she coined a great quantity of base money, which he made use of in the pay of her forces in Ireland ⁷⁶.

Mountjoy's
success in
Ireland.

MOUNTJOY, the deputy, was a man of abilities; and foreseeing the danger of mutiny among the troops, he led them instantly into the field, and resolved, by means of strict discipline, and by keeping them employed against the enemy, to obviate those inconveniences, which were justly to be apprehended. He made military roads, and built a fortress at Moghery; he drove the Mac-Genises out of Lecale; he harassed Tyrone in Ulster with inroads and lesser expeditions; and by destroying, every where, and during all seasons, the provisions of the Irish, he reduced them to perish by famine in the woods and morasses, to which they were obliged to retreat. At the same time, Sir Henry Docwray, who commanded another body of troops, took the castle

⁷⁵ Camden, p. 643.

⁷⁶ Rymer, tom. xiv. p. 414.

of Derry, and put garrisons into Newton and Ainogh; and having seized the monastery of Donnegal near Balishannon, he threw troops into it, and defended it against the assaults of O'Donnel and the Irish. Nor was Sir George Carew idle in the province of Munster. He seized the titular earl of Desmond, and sent him over, with Florence Macarty, another chieftain, prisoner to England. He arrested many suspected persons, and took hostages from others. And having got a reinforcement of two thousand men from England, he threw himself into Corke, which he supplied with arms and provisions; and he put every thing in a condition for resisting the Spanish invasion, which was daily expected. The deputy, informed of the danger, to which the southern provinces were exposed, left the prosecution of the war against Tyrone, who was reduced to great extremities; and he marched with his army into Munster.

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1601.

AT last, the Spaniards, under Don John d'Aquila, arrived at Kinsale; and Sir Richard Piercy, who commanded in the town with a small garrison of a hundred and fifty men, found himself obliged to abandon it on their appearance. These invaders amounted to four thousand men, and the Irish discovered a strong propensity to join them, in order to free themselves from the English government, with which they were extremely discontented. One chief ground of their complaint, was the introduction of trials by jury⁷⁷;

23d Sept.

⁷⁷ Camden, p. 644.

C H A P. XLIV. 1601. an institution, abhorred by that people, though nothing contributes more to the support of that equity and liberty, for which the English laws are so justly celebrated. The Irish also bore a great favor to the Spaniards, having entertained the opinion that they themselves were descended from that nation; and their attachment to the catholic religion proved a new cause of affection to the invaders. D'Aquila assumed the title of general *in the holy war for the preservation of the faith* in Ireland; and he endeavoured to persuade the people, that Elizabeth was, by several bulls of the pope, deprived of her crown; that her subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Irish from the dominion of the devil⁷⁸. Mountjoy found it necessary to act with vigor, in order to prevent a total insurrection of the Irish; and having collected his forces, he formed the siege of Kinsale by land; while Sir Richard Levison, with a small squadron, blockaded it by sea. He had no sooner begun his operations than he heard of the arrival of another body of two thousand Spaniards under the command of Alphonso Ocampo, who had taken possession of Baltimore and Berehaven; and he was obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppose their progress. Tyrone, meanwhile, with Randal, Mac-Surley, Tirl baron of Kelley, and other chieftains of the Irish, had joined Ocampo with all

⁷⁸ Camden, p. 645.

their forces, and were marching to the relief of Kinfale. The deputy, informed of their design by intercepted letters, made preparations to receive them; and being re-inforced by Levifon with six hundred marines, he posted his troops on an advantageous ground, which lay on the passage of the enemy, leaving some cavalry to prevent a sally from d'Aquila and the Spanish garrison. When Tyrone, with a detachment of Irish and Spaniards, approached, he was surprised to find the English so well posted, and ranged in good order; and he immediately founded a retreat: But the deputy gave orders to pursue him; and having thrown these advanced troops into disorder, he followed them to the main body, whom he also attacked, and put to flight, with the slaughter of twelve hundred men⁷⁹. Ocampo was taken prisoner; Tyrone fled into Ulster; Odonnel made his escape into Spain; and d'Aquila, finding himself reduced to the greatest difficulties, was obliged to capitulate upon such terms as the deputy prescribed to him: He surrendered Kinfale and Baltimore, and agreed to evacuate the kingdom. This great blow, joined to other successes, gained by Wilmot, governor of Kerry, and by Roger and Gavin Harvey, threw the rebels into dismay, and gave a prospect of the final reduction of Ireland.

THE Irish war, though successful, was extremely burthenfome on the queen's revenue; and

⁷⁹ Winwood, vol. i. p. 369.

C H A P. besides the supplies granted by parliament, which
 XLIV. were indeed very small, but which they ever
 1601. regarded as mighty concessions, she had been
 obliged, notwithstanding her great frugality, to
 employ other expedients, such as selling the
 royal demefnes and crown jewels⁸⁰, and exacting
 loans from the people⁸¹; in order to support
 this cause, so essential to the honor and interests
 of England. The necessity of her affairs obliged
 her again to summon a parliament; and it here
 appeared, that, though old age was advancing
 fast upon her, though she had lost much of her
 popularity by the unfortunate execution of Essex,
 infomuch that, when she appeared in public, she
 was not attended with the usual acclamations⁸²,
 yet the powers of her prerogative, supported by
 her vigor, still remained as high and uncontroul-
 able as ever.

27th Oct.
 A parlia-
 ment.

THE active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to their services, had made use of an expedient, which had been employed by her predecessors, but which had never been carried to such an extreme as under her administration. She granted her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled

⁸⁰ D'Ewes, p. 629.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid. p. 602. Osborne, p. 604.

to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts. It is astonishing to consider the number and importance of those commodities, which were thus assigned over to patentees. Currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, fells, pouldavies, ox-shin-bones, train oil, lists of cloth, pot-ashes, anniseeds, vinegar, sea-coals, steel, aquavitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, saltpetre, lead, accidents, oil, calamine stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, transportation of Iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spanish wool, of Irish yarn: These are but a part of the commodities, which had been appropriated to monopolists⁸³. When this list was read in the house, a member cried, *Is not bread in the number?* Bread, said every one with astonishment: Yes, I assure you, replied he, *if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament*⁸⁴. These monopolists were so exorbitant in their demands, that in some places they raised the price of salt, from sixteen-pence a bushel, to fourteen or fifteen shillings⁸⁵. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce; and in order to secure themselves against encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council,

C H A P.

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1601.

⁸³ D'Ewes, p. 648. 650. 652.⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 648.⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 647.

C H A P. by which they were enabled to oppress the people
 XLIV. at pleasure, and to exact money from such as
 1601. they thought proper to accuse of interfering with
 their patent ⁸⁶. The patentees of saltpetre, having
 the power of entering into every house, and of
 committing what havock they pleased in stables,
 cellars, or wherever they suspected saltpetre
 might be gathered; commonly extorted money
 from those who desired to free themselves from
 this damage or trouble ⁸⁷. And while all domestic
 intercourse was thus restrained, lest any scope
 should remain for industry, almost every species
 of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive
 companies, who bought and sold at any price,
 that they themselves thought proper to offer or
 exact.

THESE grievances, the most intolerable for
 the present, and the most pernicious in their
 consequences, that ever were known in any age
 or under any government, had been mentioned
 in the last parliament, and a petition had even
 been presented to the queen, complaining of the
 patents; but she still persisted in defending her
 monopolists against her people. A bill was now
 introduced into the lower house, abolishing all
 these monopolies; and as the former application
 had been unsuccessful, a law was insisted on as
 the only certain expedient for correcting these abu-
 ses. The courtiers, on the other hand, maintained,
 that this matter regarded the prerogative, and

⁸⁶ D'Ewes, p. 644. 646. 652.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 653.

that the commons could never hope for success, if they did not make application, in the most humble and respectful manner, to the queen's goodness and beneficence. The topics, which were advanced in the house, and which came equally from the courtiers and the country gentlemen, and were admitted by both, will appear the most extraordinary to such as are prepossessed with an idea of the privileges enjoyed by the people during that age, and of the liberty possessed under the administration of Elizabeth. It was asserted, that the queen inherited both an enlarging and a restraining power; by her prerogative she might set at liberty what was restrained by statute or otherwise, and by her prerogative she might restrain what was otherwise at liberty⁸⁸: That the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed nor disputed nor examined⁸⁹; and did not even admit of any limitation⁹⁰. That absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinity⁹¹. That it was in vain to attempt tying the queen's hands by laws or statutes; since, by means of her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure⁹²: And that even if a clause should be annexed to a statute, excluding her dispensing power, she could first dispense with that clause, and then with the statute⁹³. After all this discourse, more worthy

C H A P.

XLIV.

1601.

⁸⁸ D'Ewes, p. 644. 675.⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 644. 649.⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 646. 654.⁹¹ Ibid. p. 649.⁹² Ibid.⁹³ Ibid. p. 640. 646.

C H A P. of a Turkish divan than of an English house of
XLIV. commons, according to our present idea of this
1601. assembly, the queen, who perceived how odious monopolies had become, and what heats were likely to arise, sent for the speaker, and desired him to acquaint the house, that she would immediately cancel the most grievous and oppressive of these patents ⁹⁴.

THE house was struck with astonishment, and admiration, and gratitude at this extraordinary instance of the queen's goodness and condescension. A member said, with tears in his eyes, that, if a sentence of everlasting happiness had been pronounced in his favor, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at present overwhelmed ⁹⁵. Another observed, that this message from the sacred person of the queen, was a kind of gospel or glad-tidings, and ought to be received as such, and be written in the tablets of their hearts ⁹⁶. And it was farther remarked, that, in the same manner as the Deity would not give his glory to another, so the queen herself was the only agent in their present prosperity and happiness ⁹⁷. The house voted, that the speaker, with a committee, should ask permission to wait on her majesty, and return thanks to her for her gracious concessions to her people.

WHEN the speaker, with the other members,

⁹⁴ See note [X] at the end of the volume.

⁹⁵ D'Ewes, p. 654.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 556.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

p. 657.

was introduced to the queen, they all flung themselves on their knees; and remained in that posture a considerable time, till she thought proper to express her desire, that they should rise⁹⁸. The speaker displayed the gratitude of the commons; because her sacred ears were ever open to hear them, and her blessed hands ever stretched out to relieve them. They acknowledged, he said, in all duty and thankfulness acknowledged, that, before they called, her *preventing grace* and *all-deserving goodness* watched over them for their good; more ready to give than they could desire, much less deserve. He remarked, that the attribute which was most proper to God, to perform all he promiseth, appertained also to her; and that she was all truth, all constancy, and all goodness. And he concluded with these expressions, “Neither do we present our thanks
“in words or any outward sign, which can be
“no sufficient retribution for so great goodness;
“but in all duty and thankfulness, prostrate at
“your feet, we present our most loyal and

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1601.

⁹⁸ We learn from Hentzner's Travels, that no one spoke to queen Elizabeth without kneeling; though now and then she raised some with waving her hand. Nay, wherever she turned her eye, every one fell on his knees. Her successor first allowed his courtiers to omit this ceremony; and as he exerted not the power, so he relinquished the appearance of despotism. Even when queen Elizabeth was absent, those who covered her table, though persons of quality, neither approached it nor retired from it without kneeling, and that often three times.

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“ thankful hearts, even the last drop of blood
 “ in our hearts, and the last spirit of breath in
 “ our nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed
 “ up, for your safety ”. ” The queen heard
 very patiently this speech, in which she was
 flattered in phrases appropriated to the Supreme
 Being; and she returned an answer, full of such
 expressions of tenderness towards her people, as
 ought to have appeared fulsome after the late
 instances of rigor, which she had employed, and
 from which nothing but necessity had made her
 depart. Thus was this critical affair happily
 terminated; and Elizabeth, by prudently receding,
 in time, from part of her prerogative, main-
 tained her dignity, and preserved the affections
 of her people.

THE commons granted her a supply quite un-
 precedented, of four subsidies and eight fifteenths;
 and they were so dutiful as to vote this supply
 before they received any satisfaction in the business
 of monopolies, which they justly considered as
 of the utmost importance to the interest and
 happiness of the nation. Had they attempted to
 extort that concession by keeping the supply in
 suspense; so haughty was the queen's disposition,
 that this appearance of constraint and jealousy had
 been sufficient to have produced a denial of all
 their requests, and to have forced her into some
 acts of authority still more violent and arbitrary.

1602.

THE remaining events of this reign are neither

” D'Ewes, p. 658. 659.

numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in so much trouble, by fomenting and assisting the Irish rebellion, resolved to give them employment at home; and she fitted out a squadron of nine ships, under Sir Richard Levison, admiral, and Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, whom she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with part of the squadron, met the galleons loaded with treasure; but was not strong enough to attack them. The vice-admiral also fell in with some rich ships; but they escaped for a like reason: And these two brave officers, that their expedition might not prove entirely fruitless, resolved to attack the harbour of Cerimbra in Portugal; where they received intelligence, a very rich carac had taken shelter. The harbour was guarded by a castle: There were eleven gallies stationed in it: And the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thousand men, appeared in arms on the shore: Yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the English squadron broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk or burnt, or put to flight, the gallies, and obliged the carac to surrender¹⁰⁰. They brought her home to England, and she was valued at a million of ducats¹⁰¹. A sensible loss to the Spaniards; and a supply still more important to Elizabeth,¹⁰²

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1602.

¹⁰⁰ Monson, p. 181.

¹⁰¹ Camden, p. 647.

¹⁰² This year the Spaniards began the siege of Ostend,

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THE affairs of Ireland, after the defeat of Tyrone, and the expulsion of the Spaniards, hastened to a settlement. Lord Mountjoy divided his army into small parties, and harassed the rebels on every side: He built Charlemont, and many other small forts, which were impregnable to the Irish, and guarded all the important passes of the country: The activity of Sir Henry Docwray and Sir Arthur Chichester permitted no repose or security to the rebels: And many of the chieftains, after skulking, during some time, in woods and morasses, submitted to mercy, and received such conditions as the deputy was pleased to impose upon them. Tyrone himself made application by Arthur Mac-Baron, his brother, to be received upon terms; but Mountjoy would not admit him, except he made an absolute surrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. He appeared before the deputy at Millefont, in a habit and posture suitable to his present fortune; and after acknowledging his offence in the most humble terms, he was committed to custody by Mountjoy, who intended to bring him over captive into England, to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure.

1603.

Tyrone's
submission.

Queen's
sickness.

BUT Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event: She

which was bravely defended for five months by Sir Francis Vere. The states then relieved him, by sending him a new governor; and on the whole the siege lasted three years, and is computed to have cost the lives of a hundred thousand men.

had fallen into a profound melancholy; which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable, in any degree, to alleviate or assuage. Some ascribed this depression of mind to her repentance of granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom she had always resolved to bring to condign punishment for his treasons, but who had made such interest with the ministers, as to extort a remission from her. Others, with more likelihood, accounted for her dejection, by a discovery, which she had made, of the correspondence maintained in her court with her successor the king of Scots, and by the neglect, to which, on account of her old age and infirmities, she imagined herself to be exposed. But there is another cause assigned for her melancholy, which has long been rejected by historians as romantic, but which late discoveries seem to have confirmed¹⁰³: Some incidents happened, which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the deepest sorrow for the consent, which she had unwarily given to his execution.

THE earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent

¹⁰³ See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's Negotiations, p. 206. And Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481. 505, 506, &c.

C H A P. XLIV. 1603. from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices, which his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him, that, into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, she would immediately, upon the sight of it, recal her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favorable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected, that her favorite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay, and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The countess of Nottingham, falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst

burst into a furious passion: She shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her, *That God might pardon her, but she never could*, she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She rejected all consolation: She even refused food and sustenance: And throwing herself on the floor, she remained fullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and existence an insufferable burthen to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to reveal; But sighs and groans were the chief vent, which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her; and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies, which they prescribed to her¹⁰⁴. Her anxious mind, at last, had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that, as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that she would have a

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¹⁰⁴ Strype, vol. iv. N° 276.

C H A P. king to succeed her; and who should that be but
 XLIV. her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots? Being
 1603. then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to
 fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that she
 did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from
 him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses
 And death. failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which
 24th March. continued some hours; and she expired gently,
 without farther struggle or convulsion, in the
 seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her
 reign.

And cha-
 racter.

So dark a cloud overcast the evening of that
 day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre
 in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great
 personages in history, who have been more ex-
 posed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation
 of friends, than queen Elizabeth; and yet there
 scarcely is any, whose reputation has been more
 certainly determined, by the unanimous consent
 of posterity. The unusual length of her adminis-
 tration, and the strong features of her character,
 were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging
 her detractors to abate much of their invectives,
 and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics,
 have at last, in spite of political factions, and
 what is more, of religious animosities, produced
 a uniform judgment with regard to her conduct.
 Her vigor, her constancy, her magnanimity, her
 penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to
 merit the highest praises, and appear not to have
 been surpassed by any person that ever filled a
 throne: A conduct less rigorous, less imperious,

more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controuled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess: Her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition: She guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities; the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

HER singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrouled ascendant over her people; and while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people, by her superior prudence, from those confusions, in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations: And though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able by her vigor to make deep impressions on

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C H A P. their states : Her own greatness , meanwhile ;
 XLIV. remained untouched and unimpaired.

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THE wise ministers and brave warriors, who flourished under her reign, share the praise of her success; but instead of lessening the applause due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed, all of them, their advancement to her choice; they were supported by her constancy; and with all their abilities, they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress: The force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat, which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

THE fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses

by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and consider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and intrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

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APPENDIX III.

Government of England—Revenues—Commerce—Military force—Manufactures—Learning.

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Government
of England.

THE party among us, who have distinguished themselves by their adhering to liberty and a popular government, have long indulged their prejudices against the succeeding race of princes, by bestowing unbounded panegyrics on the virtue and wisdom of Elizabeth. They have even been so extremely ignorant of the transactions of this reign, as to extol her for a quality, which, of all others, she was the least possessed of; a tender regard for the constitution, and a concern for the liberties and privileges of her people. But as it is scarcely possible for the prepossessions of party to throw a veil much longer over facts so palpable and undeniable, there is danger lest the public should run into the opposite extreme, and should entertain an aversion to the memory of a princess, who exercised the royal authority in a manner so contrary to all the ideas, which we at present entertain of a legal constitution. But Elizabeth only supported the prerogatives, transmitted to her by her predecessors: She believed that her subjects were entitled to no more liberty than their ancestors had enjoyed: She found that they entirely acquiesced in her arbitrary administration: And it was not natural for her to find

fault with a form of government, by which she herself was invested with such unlimited authority. In the particular exertions of power, the question ought never to be forgotten, *What is best?* But in the general distribution of power among the several members of a constitution, there can seldom be admitted any other question, than *What is established?* Few examples occur of princes, who have willingly resigned their power: None of those who have, without struggle and reluctance, allowed it to be extorted from them. If any other rule than established practice be followed, factions and dissensions must multiply without end: And though many constitutions, and none more than the British, have been improved even by violent innovations, the praise, bestowed on those patriots, to whom the nation has been indebted for its privileges, ought to be given with some reserve, and surely without the least rancor against those who adhered to the ancient constitution¹.

¹ By the ancient constitution, is here meant that which prevailed before the settlement of our present plan of liberty. There was a more ancient constitution, where, though the people had perhaps less liberty than under the Tudors, yet the king had also less authority: The power of the barons was a great check upon him, and exercised great tyranny over them. But there was still a more ancient constitution, viz. that before the signing of the charters, when neither the people nor the barons had any regular privileges; and the power of the government, during the reign of an able prince, was almost wholly in the king. The English constitution, like all others, has been in a state of continual fluctuation.

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IN order to understand the ancient constitution of England, there is not a period which deserves more to be studied than the reign of Elizabeth. The prerogatives of this princess were scarcely ever disputed, and she therefore employed them without scruple: Her imperious temper, a circumstance in which she went far beyond her successors, rendered her exertions of power violent and frequent, and discovered the full extent of her authority: The great popularity, which she enjoyed, proves, that she did not infringe any *established* liberties of the people: There remains evidence sufficient to ascertain the most noted acts of her administration: And though that evidence must be drawn from a source wide of the ordinary historians, it becomes only the more authentic on that account, and serves as a stronger proof, that her particular exertions of power were conceived to be nothing but the ordinary course of administration, since they were not thought remarkable enough to be recorded even by contemporary writers. If there was any difference in this particular, the people, in former reigns, seem rather to have been more submissive than even during the age of Elizabeth²:

² In a memorial of the state of the realm, drawn by secretary Cecil, in 1569, there is this passage: "Then followeth the decay of obedience in civil policy, which being compared with the fearfulness and reverence of all inferior estates to their superiors in times past, will astonish any wise and considerate person, to behold the desperation of reformation." Haynes, p. 586. Again, p. 588.

It may not here be improper to recount some of the ancient prerogatives of the crown, and lay open the sources of that great power, which the English monarchs formerly enjoyed.

ONE of the most ancient and most established instruments of power was the court of Star-chamber, which possessed an unlimited discretionary authority of fining, imprisoning, and inflicting corporal punishment, and whose jurisdiction extended to all sorts of offences, contempts, and disorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court consisted of the privy council and the judges; men, who all of them enjoyed their offices during pleasure: And when the prince himself was present, he was the sole judge, and all the others could only interpose with their advice. There needed but this one court in any government, to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty. For who durst set himself in opposition to the crown and ministry, or aspire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while exposed to so arbitrary a jurisdiction? I much question, whether any of the absolute monarchies in Europe contain, at present, so illegal and despotic a tribunal.

THE court of High Commission was another jurisdiction still more terrible; both because the crime of heresy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and because its methods of inquisition and of administering oaths, were more contrary to all the most simple ideas of justice and equity. The

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finer and imprisonment imposed by this court were frequent: The deprivations and suspensions of the clergy for non-conformity were also numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the ecclesiastics of England³. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, said expressly, that she was resolved, "That no man
" should be suffered to decline either on the left
" or on the right hand, from the drawn line
" limited by authority, and by her laws and
" injunctions⁴."

BUT Martial Law went beyond even these two courts in a prompt and arbitrary and violent method of decision. Whenever there was any insurrection or public disorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exercised not only over the soldiers, but over the whole people: Any one might be punished as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provost-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleased to suspect. Lord Bacon says, that the trial at common law granted to the earl of Essex, and his fellow conspirators, was a favor: For that the case would have born and required the severity of martial law⁵. We have seen instances of its being employed by queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the earl of Sussex, after the suppression of the

³ Neal, vol. i. p. 479.

⁵ Vol. iv. p. 510.

⁴ Murden, p. 183.

northern rebellion, in which she sharply reproves him, because she had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law⁶; though it is probable, that near eight hundred persons suffered, one way or other, on account of that flight insurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exercise of this law to times of civil war and disorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion, or insurrection, king Edward granted a commission of martial law; and empowered the commissioners to execute it; *as should be thought by their discretions most necessary*⁷. Queen Elizabeth too was not sparing in the use of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a puritan, being persuaded that it was meritorious to kill such as opposed the truth of the gospel, ran into the streets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous sea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favorite. The queen was so incensed, that she ordered him to be punished instantly by martial law; but upon the remonstrance of some prudent counsellors, who told her, that this law was usually confined to turbulent times, she recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law⁸. But she continued not always so reserved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of hers, in which she orders martial law to be used against all such as

⁶ MS. of Lord Royston's from the Paper Office.

⁷ Strype's Eccles. Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 373, 458, 459.

⁸ Camden, p. 446. Strype, vol. ii. p. 288.

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import bulls , or even forbidden books and pamphlets from abroad⁹; and prohibits the questioning of the lieutenants or their deputies for their arbitrary punishment of such offenders, *any law or statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding*. We have another act of hers still more extraordinary. The streets of London were much infested with idle vagabonds and riotous persons: The lord mayor had endeavoured to repress this disorder: The Star-chamber had exerted its authority , and inflicted punishments on these rioters: But the queen, finding those remedies ineffectual, revived martial law , and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commission of provost-martial : “ Granting him authority , and
“ commanding him, upon signification given by
“ the Justices of peace in London or the neigh-
“ bouring counties, of such offenders, worthy
“ to be speedily executed by martial law , to
“ attach and take the same persons , and in the
“ presence of the said justices , according to
“ justice of martial law, to execute them upon
“ the gallows or gibbet openly , or near to such
“ place where the said rebellious and incorrigible
“ offenders shall be found to have committed the
“ said great offences¹⁰. ” I suppose it would be difficult to produce an instance of such an act of authority in any place nearer than Muscovy. The patent of High Constable, granted to earl

⁹ Strype, vol. iii. p. 570.
p. 279.

¹⁰ Rymer, vol. xvi.

Rivers by Edward IV. proves the nature of the office. The powers are unlimited, perpetual, and remain in force, during peace, as well as during war and rebellion. The parliament, in Edward VIth's reign, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Constable and Marshal's-court to be part of the law of the land¹¹.

THE Star-chamber, and High Commission, and Court-martial, though arbitrary jurisdictions, had still some pretence of a trial, at least of a sentence; but there was a grievous punishment very generally inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a secretary of state, or of the privy-council¹²; and that was, imprisonment in any jail, and during any time that the ministers should think proper. In suspicious times, all the jails were full of prisoners of state; and these unhappy victims of public jealousy were sometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the most cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

THIS practice was an indirect way of employing torture: But the rack itself, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of justice¹³,

¹¹ 7 Edw. VI. cap. 20. See Sir John Davis's question concerning impositions, p. 9.

¹² In 1588, the lord mayor committed several citizens to prison, because they refused to pay the loan demanded of them. Murden, p. 632.

¹³ Harrison, book ii. chap. 11.

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 iii. was frequently used, upon any suspicion, by authority of a warrant from a secretary or the privy-council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture, whenever they thought proper¹⁴. There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following story, told by lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words: "The queen was
 " mightily incensed against Haywarde, on account of a book he dedicated to lord Essex,
 " being a story of the first year of Henry IV.
 " thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the
 " people's heads boldness and factions¹⁵: She
 " said, she had an opinion that there was treason
 " in it, and asked me, If I could not find any
 " places in it, that might be drawn within the
 " case of treason? Whereto I answered, For
 " treason, sure I found none; but for felony,
 " very many: And when her majesty hastily
 " asked me, Wherein? I told her, the author
 " had committed very apparent theft: For he
 " had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius
 " Tacitus, and translated them into English, and
 " put them into his text. And another time,

¹⁴ Heynes, p. 196. See farther la Boderie, vol. i. p. 211.

¹⁵ To our apprehension, Haywarde's book seems rather to have a contrary tendency. For he has there preserved the famous speech of the bishop of Carlisle, which contains, in the most express terms, the doctrine of passive obedience. But queen Elizabeth was very difficult to please on this head.

“ when the queen could not be persuaded, that
 “ it was his writing whose name was to it, but
 “ that it had some more mischievous author, and
 “ said with great indignation, that she would
 “ have him racked to produce his author; I re-
 “ plied, Nay, madam, he is a doctor, never
 “ rack his person, but rack his style: Let him
 “ have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books,
 “ and be enjoined to continue the story where it
 “ breaketh off, and I will undertake, by col-
 “ lating the styles, to judge whether he were
 “ the author or no¹⁶.” Thus, had it not been
 for Bacon’s humanity, or rather his wit, this
 author, a man of letters, had been put to the
 rack, for a most innocent performance. His real
 offence was, his dedicating a book to that muni-
 ficent patron of the learned, the earl of Essex,
 at a time when this nobleman lay under her
 majesty’s displeasure.

THE queen’s menace, of trying and punishing
 Haywarde for treason, could easily have been
 executed, let his book have been ever so innocent.
 While so many terrors hung over the people, no
 jury durst have acquitted a man, when the court
 was resolved to have him condemned. The
 practice also, of not confronting witnesses with
 the prisoner, gave the crown lawyers all imagin-
 able advantage against him. And, indeed, there
 scarcely occurs an instance, during all these reigns,
 that the sovereign, or the ministers, were ever

¹⁶ Cabala, p. 81.

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disappointed in the issue of a prosecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleasure, never failed to second all the views of the crown. And as the practice was anciently common of fining, imprisoning, or otherwise punishing the jurors, merely at the discretion of the court, for finding a verdict contrary to the direction of these dependent judges; it is obvious, that juries were then no manner of security to the liberty of the subject.

THE power of pressing, both for sea and land service, and obliging any person to accept of any office, however mean or unfit for him, was another prerogative totally incompatible with freedom. Osborne gives the following account of Elizabeth's method of employing this prerogative. "In case she found any likely to interrupt her occasions," says he, "she did seasonably prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him upon some service at home, which she knew least grateful to the people: Contrary to a false maxim, since practised with far worse success, by such princes as thought it better husbandry to buy off enemies than reward friends¹⁷. The practice with which Osborne reproaches the two immediate successors of Elizabeth, proceeded partly from the extreme difficulty of their situation, partly from the greater lenity of their disposition. The power of pressing, as may naturally be imagined, was often abused, in other respects, by

¹⁷ Page 392.

men of inferior rank; and officers often exacted money for freeing persons from the service¹⁸. Appendix
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THE government of England during that age, however different in other particulars, bore, in this respect, some resemblance to that of Turkey at present: The sovereign possessed every power, except that of imposing taxes: And in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the Sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards squeezes presents or takes forfeitures: In England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade: An invention so pernicious, that, had she gone on, during a track of years, at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco, or the coast of Barbary.

We may farther observe, that this valuable privilege, valuable only because it proved afterwards the means by which the parliament extorted all their other privileges, was very much encroached on, in an indirect manner, during the reign of Elizabeth as well as her predecessors. She often exacted loans from her people; an arbitrary and unequal kind of imposition, and which individuals felt severely: For though the money had been regularly repaid, which was seldom the case¹⁹, it lay in the prince's hands without interest, which

¹⁸ Murden, p. 181.

¹⁹ Bacon, vol. iv. p. 362.

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was a sensible loss to the persons from whom the money was borrowed²⁰.

THERE remains a proposal made by lord Burleigh, for levying a general loan on the people, equivalent to a subsidy²¹; a scheme which would have laid the burthen more equally, but which was, in different words, a taxation, imposed without consent of parliament. It is remarkable, that the scheme, thus proposed, without any visible necessity, by that wise minister, is the very same which Henry VIII. executed, and which Charles I. enraged by ill usage from his parliament, and reduced to the greatest difficulties, put afterwards in practice, to the great discontent of the nation.

THE demand of benevolence was another invention of that age for taxing the people. This practice was so little conceived to be irregular, that the commons, in 1585, offered the queen a benevolence; which she very generously refused, as having no occasion, at that time, for money²². Queen Mary also, by an order of council, increased the customs in some branches; and her

²⁰ In the second of Richard II. it was enacted that in loans, which the king shall require of his subjects, upon letters of Privy Seal, such as have *reasonable* excuse of not lending, may there be received without further summons, travel, or grief. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 170. By this law, the king's prerogative of exacting loans was ratified; and what ought to be deemed a *reasonable* excuse was still left in his own breast, to determine.

²¹ Haynes, p. 518, 519. ²² D'Ewes, p. 494.

sister imitated the example²³. There was a spe- Appendix
 cies of ship money imposed at the time of the Spanish III.
 invasion: The several ports were required to
 equip a certain number of vessels at their own
 charge; and such was the alacrity of the people
 for the public defence, that some of the ports,
 particularly London, sent double the number de-
 manded of them²⁴. When any levies were made
 for Ireland, France, or the Low Countries, the
 queen obliged the counties to levy the soldiers,
 to arm and clothe them, and carry them to the
 sea-ports at their own charge. New-year's gifts
 were, at that time, expected from the nobility
 and from the more considerable gentry²⁵.

PURVEYANCE and pre-emption were also me-
 thods of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and op-
 pressive. The whole kingdom sensibly felt the
 burthen of those impositions; and it was regard-
 ed as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and
 Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from
 taking any commodities within five miles of
 these universities. The queen victualled her navy
 by means of this prerogative, during the first
 years of her reign²⁶.

WARDSHIP was the most regular and legal of
 all these impositions by prerogative: Yet was it
 a great badge of slavery, and oppressive to all
 the considerable families. When an estate devolved

²³ Baron, vol. iv. p. 362 ²⁴ Monson, p. 267.

²⁵ Strype's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 137. ²⁶ Camden,
p. 388.

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to a female, the sovereign obliged her to marry any one he pleased: Whether the heir were male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profit of the estate during the minority. The giving of a rich wardship was a usual method of rewarding a courtier or favorite.

THE inventions were endless, which arbitrary power might employ for the extorting of money, while the people imagined, that their property was secured by the crown's being debarred from imposing taxes. Strype has preserved a speech of lord Burleigh to the queen and council, in which are contained some particulars not a little extraordinary²⁷. Burleigh proposes, that she should erect a court for the correction of all abuses, and should confer on the commissioners a general inquisitorial power over the whole kingdom. He sets before her the example of her wise grandfather, Henry VII. who, by such methods, extremely augmented his revenue; and he recommends, that this new court should proceed, "as well by the direction and ordinary course of the laws, as by virtue of her majesty's supreme regiment and *absolute power, from whence law proceeded.*" In a word he expects from this institution, greater accession to the royal treasure, than Henry VIII. derived from the abolition of the abbeyes, and all the forfeitures of ecclesiastical revenues. This project of lord Burleigh's needs not, I think, any comment. A form of govern-

²⁷ Annals, vol. i. p. 234, & seq.

ment must be very arbitrary indeed, where a wise and good minister could make such a proposal to the sovereign.

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EMBARGOES on merchandize was another engine of royal power, by which the English princes were able to extort money from the people. We have seen instances in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth, before her coronation, issued an order to the custom-house, prohibiting the sale of all crimson silks, which should be imported, till the court were first supplied²⁸. She expected, no doubt, a good penny-worth from the merchants, while they lay under this restraint.

THE parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting subsidies; but this privilege was, during that age, still more insignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expressly prohibited them from meddling either with state matters or ecclesiastical causes; and she openly sent the members to prison, who dared to transgress her imperial edict in these particulars. There passed few sessions of parliament, during her reign, where there occur not instances of this arbitrary conduct.

BUT the legislative power of the parliament was a mere fallacy; while the sovereign was universally acknowledged to possess a dispensing power, by which all the laws could be invalidated, and rendered of no effect. The exercise of this power was also an indirect method practised

²⁸ Strype, vol. i. p. 27.

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for erecting monopolies. Where the statutes laid any branch of manufacture under restrictions, the sovereign, by exempting one person from the laws, gave him in effect the monopoly of that commodity ²⁹. There was no grievance, at that time, more universally complained of, than the frequent dispensing with the penal laws ³⁰.

But in reality, the crown possessed the full legislative power, by means of proclamations, which might affect any matter, even of the greatest importance, and which the Star-chamber took care to see more rigorously executed than the laws themselves. The motives for these proclamations were sometimes frivolous and even ridiculous. Queen Elizabeth had taken offence at the smell of woad; and she issued an edict prohibiting any one from cultivating that useful plant ³¹. She was also pleased to take offence at the long swords and high ruffs then in fashion: She sent about her officers, to break every man's sword, and clip every man's ruff, which was beyond a certain dimension ³². This practice resembles the method employed by the great Czar, Peter, to make his subjects change their garb.

THE queen's prohibition of the *propheesyings*, or the assemblies, instituted for fanatical prayers

²⁹ Rymer, tom. xv. p. 756. D'Ewes, p. 645.

³⁰ Murden, p. 325.

³¹ Townshend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals.

³² Townshend's Journals, p. 250. Stow's Annals. Strype, vol. ii. p. 603.

and conferences, was founded on a better reason; but shows still the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Any number of persons could not meet together, in order to read the scriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever so orthodox a manner, without her permission.

THERE were many other branches of prerogative incompatible with an exact or regular enjoyment of liberty. None of the nobility could marry without permission from the sovereign. The queen detained the earl of Southampton long in prison, because he privately married the earl of Essex's cousin ³³. No man could travel without the consent of the prince. Sir William Evers underwent a severe persecution, because he had presumed to pay a private visit to the king of Scots ³⁴. The sovereign even assumed a supreme and uncontrouled authority over all foreign trade; and neither allowed any person to enter or depart the kingdom, nor any commodity to be imported or exported, without his consent ³⁵.

THE parliament, in the thirteenth of the queen, praised her for not imitating the practice, usual among her predecessors, of stopping the course of justice by particular warrants ³⁶. There could not possibly be a greater abuse, nor a stronger mark of arbitrary power; and the queen, in refraining from it, was very laudable. But she was by no means constant in this reserve. There

³³ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 422. ³⁴ Ibid. p. 511.

³⁵ Sir John Davis's question concerning impositions, passim.

³⁶ D'Ewes, p. 141.

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remain in the public records some warrants of her's for exempting particular persons from all lawfuits and profecutions ³⁷; and these warrants, ſhe ſays, ſhe grants from her royal prerogative, which ſhe will not allow to be diſputed.

It was very uſual in queen Elizabeth's reign, and probably in all the preceding reigns, for noblemen or privy - counſellors to commit to priſon any one, who had happened to diſpleaſe them, by ſuing for his juſt debts; and the unhappy perſon, though he gained his cauſe in the courts of juſtice, was commonly obliged to relinquish his property in order to obtain his liberty. Some likewiſe, who had been delivered from priſon by the judges, were again committed to cuſtody in ſecret places, without any poſſibility of obtaining relief; and even the officers and ſerjeants of the courts of law were puniſhed for executing the writs in favor of theſe perſons. Nay, it was uſual to ſend for people by purſuivants, a kind of harpies, who then attended the orders of the council and high commiſſion; and they were brought up to London, and conſtrained by imprifonment, not only to withdraw their lawful ſuits, but alſo to pay the purſuivants great ſums of money. The judges, in the 34th of the queen, complain to her majeſty of the frequency of this practice. It is probable, that ſo egregious a tyranny was carried no farther down than the reign of Elizabeth; ſince the parliament, who

³⁷ Rymer, tom. xv. p. 652. 708. 777.

presented the petition of right, found no later instances of it³⁸. And even these very judges of Elizabeth, who thus protect the people against the tyranny of the great, expressly allow, that a person, committed by special command of the queen, is notailable. Appendix
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It is easy to imagine, that, in such a government, no justice could, by course of law, be obtained of the sovereign, unless he were willing to allow it. In the naval expedition, undertaken by Raleigh and Frobisher against the Spaniards, in the year 1592, a very rich carac was taken, worth two hundred thousand pounds. The queen's share in the adventure was only a tenth; but as the prize was so great, and exceeded so much the expectation of all the adventurers, she was determined not to rest contented with her share. Raleigh humbly and earnestly begged her to accept of a hundred thousand pounds, in lieu of all demands, or rather extortions; and says, that the present, which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thousand pounds, was the greatest that ever prince received from a subject³⁹.

BUT it is no wonder the queen, in her administration, should pay so little regard to liberty; while the parliament itself, in enacting laws, was entirely negligent of it. The persecuting statutes, which they passed against papists and

³⁸ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 511. Franklyn's Annals, p. 250, 251.

³⁹ Strype, vol. iv. p. 128, 129.

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puritans, are extremely contrary to the genius of freedom; and by exposing such multitudes to the tyranny of priests and bigots, accustomed the people to the most disgraceful subjection. Their conferring an unlimited supremacy on the queen, or what is worse, acknowledging her inherent right to it, was another proof of their voluntary servitude.

THE law of the 23d of her reign, making seditious words against the queen capital, is also a very tyrannical statute; and a use, no less tyrannical, was sometimes made of it. The case of Udal, a puritanical clergyman, seems singular, even in those arbitrary times. This man had published a book, called a demonstration of discipline, in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to a trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the bishops were part of the queen's political body; and to speak against them, was really to attack her, and was therefore felony by the statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had written the book or not, without examining his intention, or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a single witness to the court: They only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said, that Udal had told him he was

the author; another, that a friend of Udal's had said so. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which, they said, was never to be permitted against the crown⁴⁰. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depose, that he was not author of the book; and his refusal to make that deposition was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It is almost needless to add, that notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udal: For as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape⁴¹. He died in prison, before the execution of the sentence.

THE case of Penry was, if possible, still harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Brownist, a small sect, which afterwards increased, and received the name of Independents. He had written against the hierarchy several tracts, such as *Martin Marprelate*, *Theses Martinianæ*, and other compositions, full of low scurrility and petulant satire. After concealing himself for some years, he was seized; and as the statute against seditious words required, that the criminal should be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried for some papers found in

⁴⁰ It was never fully established, that the prisoner could legally produce evidence against the crown, till after the revolution. See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 352.

⁴¹ State Trials, vol. i. p. 144. Strype, vol. iv. p. 21. Id. Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

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his pocket, as if he had thereby scattered sedition ⁴². It was also imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that, in some of these papers, " he had only acknowledged her majesty's royal power to *establish* laws, ecclesiastical and civil; but " had avoided the *usual* terms of *making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining* laws: Which imply, " says the lord keeper, " a most absolute authority ⁴³. Penry for these offences was condemned and executed.

THUS we have seen, that *the most absolute* authority of the sovereign, to make use of the lord keeper's expression, was established on above twenty branches of prerogative, which are now abolished, and which were, every one of them, totally incompatible with the liberty of the subject. But what ensured more effectually the slavery of the people, than even these branches of prerogative, was, the established principles of the times, which attributed to the prince such an unlimited and indefeasible power, as was supposed to be the origin of all law, and could be circumscribed by none. The homilies, published for the use of the clergy, and which they were enjoined to read every Sunday in all the churches, inculcate every where a blind and unlimited passive obedience to the prince, which, on no account, and under no pretence, is it ever lawful for subjects, in the smallest article, to depart from or infringe.

⁴² Strype's Life of Whitgift, book iv. chap. 11. Neal, vol. i. p. 564.

⁴³ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 177.

Much noise has been made, because some court chaplains, during the succeeding reigns, were permitted to preach such doctrines; but there is a great difference between these sermons, and discourses published by authority, avowed by the prince and council, and promulgated to the whole nation ⁴⁴. So thoroughly were these principles imbibed by the people, during the reigns of Elizabeth and her predecessors, that opposition to them was regarded as the most flagrant sedition, and was not even rewarded by that public praise and approbation, which can alone support men under such dangers and difficulties, as attend the resistance of tyrannical authority ⁴⁵. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and spreading themselves, under the shelter of puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people.

It is worth remarking, that the advantage,

⁴⁴ Gifford, a clergyman, was suspended in the year 1584, for preaching up a limited obedience to the civil magistrate, Neal, vol. i. p. 435.

⁴⁵ It is remarkable, that in all the historical plays of Shakespear, where the manners and characters, and even the transactions of the several reigns are so exactly copied, there is scarcely any mention of *civil Liberty*; which some pretended historians have imagined to be the object of all the ancient quarrels, insurrections, and civil wars. In the elaborate panegyric of England, contained in the tragedy of Richard II. and the detail of its advantages, not a word of its civil constitution, as anywise different from or superior to that of other European kingdoms: An omission, which cannot be supposed in any English author that wrote since the Restoration, at least since the Revolution.

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usually ascribed to absolute monarchy, a greater regularity of police and a more strict execution of the laws, did not attend the former English government, though in many respects it fell under that denomination. A demonstration of this truth is contained in a judicious paper, which is preserved by Strype ⁴⁶, and which was written by an eminent justice of peace of Somersetshire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen's reign; when the authority of that princess may be supposed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice. This paper contains an account of the disorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerset. The author says, that forty persons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burnt in the hand, thirty-seven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three discharged: That those who were discharged were most wicked and desperate persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into service: That notwithstanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people: That the rapines

⁴⁶ Annals, vol. iv. p. 290.

committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to keep a perpetual watch over their sheep-folds, their pastures, their woods, and their corn-fields: That the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire; and many of them were even in a worse: That there were at least three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who sometimes met in troops to the number of sixty, and committed spoil on the inhabitants: That if all the felons of this kind were assembled, they would be able, if reduced to good subjection, to give the greatest enemy her majesty has a *strong battle*: And that the magistrates themselves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were instances of justices of peace, who, after giving sentence against rogues, had interposed to stop the execution of their own sentence, on account of the danger, which hung over them from the confederates of these felons.

IN the year 1575, the queen complained in parliament of the bad execution of the laws; and threatened, that, if the magistrates were not, for the future, more vigilant, she would intrust authority to indigent and needy persons, who would find an interest in a more exact administration of justice⁴⁷. It appears, that she was as good as her word.

⁴⁷ D'Ewes, p. 234.

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For in the year 1601, there were great complaints made in parliament of the rapine of justices of peace; and a member said, that this magistrate was an animal, who, for half a dozen of chickens, would dispense with a dozen of penal statutes⁴⁸. It is not easy to account for this relaxation of government, and neglect of police, during a reign of so much vigor as that of Elizabeth. The small revenue of the crown is the most likely cause that can be assigned. The queen had it not in her power to interest a great number in assisting her to execute the laws⁴⁹.

ON the whole, the English have no reason, from the example of their ancestors, to be in love with the picture of absolute monarchy; or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince and his unbounded prerogatives, to that noble liberty, that sweet equality, and that happy security, by which they are at present distinguished above all nations in the universe. The utmost that can be said in favor of the government of that age (and perhaps it may be said with truth) is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exercised after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the administration; that the instances of a high exerted prerogative were not so frequent as to render property sensibly insecure, or reduce the people to a total servitude; that the freedom from faction,

⁴⁸ D'Ewes, p. 661—664.

⁴⁹ See note [Y] at the end of the volume.

the quickness of execution, and the promptitude of those measures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made some compensation for the want of a legal and determinate liberty; that, as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him, which maintained the government in that medium, to which the people had been accustomed; and that this situation of England, though seemingly it approached nearer, was in reality more remote from a despotic and eastern monarchy, than the present government of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defenceless, and disarmed; and besides, are not secured by any middle power, or independent powerful nobility, interposed between them and the monarch.

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WE shall close the present Appendix with a brief account of the revenues, the military force, the commerce, the arts, and the learning of England during this period.

QUEEN Elizabeth's œconomy was remarkable; and in some instances seemed to border on avarice. The smallest expense, if it could possibly be spared, appeared considerable in her eyes; and even the charge of an express, during the most delicate transactions, was not below her notice⁵⁰. She was also attentive to every profit; and embraced opportunities of gain, which may appear somewhat extraordinary. She kept, for

Revenues.

⁵⁰ Birch's Negoc. p. 21.
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instance, the see of Ely vacant nineteen years, in order to retain the revenue ⁵¹; and it was usual with her, when she promoted a bishop, to take the opportunity of pillaging the see of some of its manors ⁵². But that in reality there was little or no avarice in the queen's temper appears from this circumstance, that she never amassed any treasure; and even refused subsidies from the parliament, when she had no present occasion for them. Yet we must not conclude from this circumstance, that her œconomy proceeded from a tender concern for her people: She loaded them with monopolies and exclusive patents, which are much more oppressive than the most heavy taxes, levied in an equal and regular manner. The real source of her frugal conduct was derived from her desire of independence, and her care to preserve her dignity, which would have been endangered, had she reduced herself to the necessity of having frequent recourse to parliamentary

⁵¹ Strype, vol. iv. p. 351.

⁵² Ibid. p. 215. There is a curious letter of the queen's, writ to a bishop of Ely, and preserved in the register of that see. It is in these words: *Proud prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement: But I would have you know, that I, who made you what you are, can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God, I will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself, Elizabeth.* The bishop, it seems, had promised to exchange some part of the land belonging to the see for a pretended equivalent; and did so, but it was in consequence of the above letter. Annual Register, 1761. p. 15.

supplies. In consequence of this motive, the queen, though engaged in successful and necessary wars, thought it more prudent to make a continual dilapidation of the royal demesnes⁵³, than demand the most moderate supplies from the commons. As she lived unmarried and had no posterity, she was content to serve her present turn, though at the expense of her successors; who, by reason of this policy, joined to other circumstances, found themselves, on a sudden, reduced to the most extreme indigence.

THE splendor of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a single woman, and expensive in no kind of magnificence, except clothes, this circumstance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is said to have paid four millions of debt, left on the crown by her father, brother, and sister; an incredible sum for that age⁵⁴. The States, at the time of her death, owed her about eight hundred thousand pounds; And the king of France four hundred and fifty thousand⁵⁵. Though that prince was

⁵³ Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 141. D'Ewes, p. 151. 457. 525. 629. Bacon, vol. iv. p. 363.

⁵⁴ D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it impossible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1553, the crown owed but 300,000 pounds. I own, that this last sum appears a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions.

⁵⁵ Winwood, vol. i. p. 29. 54.

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extremely frugal, and after the peace of Vervins, was continually amassing treasure, the queen never could, by the most pressing importunities, prevail on him to make payment of those sums, which she had so generously advanced him, during his greatest distresses. One payment of twenty thousand crowns, and another of fifty thousand, were all she could obtain, by the strongest representations she could make of the difficulties, to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her ⁵⁶. The queen expended on the wars with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the sum of one million three hundred thousand pounds, beside the pittance of a double subsidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, granted her by parliament ⁵⁷. In the year 1599, she spent six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the service of Ireland ⁵⁸. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that, in ten years, Ireland cost her three millions four hundred thousand pounds ⁵⁹. She gave the earl of Essex a present of thirty thousand pounds upon his departure for the government of that kingdom ⁶⁰. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts, conferred on that favorite, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds; a sum, which, though probably exaggerated, is a proof of her strong affection towards him! It was a common saying

⁵⁶ Winwood, vol. i. p. 117. 395.

⁵⁷ D'Ewes, p. 483.

⁵⁸ Camden, p. 167.

⁵⁹ Appendix to the earl of Essex's apology.

⁶⁰ Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii.

during this reign; *The queen pays bountifully, though she rewards sparingly* ⁶¹. Appendix
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It is difficult to compute exactly the queen's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much short of five hundred thousand pounds a-year ⁶². In the year 1590, she raised the customs from fourteen thousand pounds a-year to fifty thousand, and obliged Sir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund some of his former profits ⁶³. This improvement of the revenue was owing to the suggestions of one Caermarthen; and was opposed by Burleigh, Leicester, and Walsingham: But the queen's perseverance overcame all their opposition. The great undertakings, which she executed with so narrow a revenue, and with such small supplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of wisdom and œconomy. She received from the parliament, during the course of her whole reign, only twenty subsidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. I pretend not to determine exactly the amount of these supplies; because the value of a subsidy was continually falling;

⁶¹ Nanton's Regalia, chap. 1.

⁶² Franklyn in his annals, p. 9. says that the profit of the kingdom, besides Wards and the dutchy of Lancaster (*which amounted to about 120,000 pounds*) was 188,197 pounds: The crown lands seem to be comprehended in this computation.

⁶³ Camden, p. 558. This account of Camden is difficult or impossible to be reconciled to the state of the customs in the beginning of the subsequent reign, as they appear in the journals of the commons. See Hist. of James, chap. 46.

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and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thousand pounds ⁶⁴, though in the beginning it had been a hundred and twenty thousand. If we suppose, that the supplies, granted Elizabeth during a reign of forty-five years, amounted to three millions, we shall not probably be much wide of the truth ⁶⁵. This sum makes

⁶⁴ D'Ewes, p. 630.

⁶⁵ Lord Salisbury computed these supplies only at 2,800,000 pounds, Journ. 17 Feb. 1609. King James was certainly mistaken, when he estimated the queen's annual supplies at 137,000 pounds, Franklyn, p. 44. It is curious to observe, that the minister, in the war begun in 1754, was, in some periods, allowed to lavish in two months as great a sum as was granted by parliament to queen Elizabeth in forty-five years. The extreme frivolous object of the late war, and the great importance of hers, set this matter in still a stronger light. Money too, we may observe, was in most particulars of the same value in both periods: She payed eight pence a day to every foot soldier. But our late delusions have much exceeded any thing known in history, not even excepting those of the crusades. For, I suppose, there is no mathematical, still less an arithmetical demonstration, that the road to the Holy Land was not the road to Paradise, as there is, that the endless increase of national debts is the direct road to national ruin. But having now completely reached that goal, it is needless at present to reflect on the past. It will be found in the present year, 1776, that all the revenues of this island, north of Trent and west of Reading, are mortgaged or anticipated for ever. Could the small remainder be in a worse condition, were those provinces seized by Austria and Prussia? There is only this difference, that some event might happen in Europe, which would oblige these great monarchs to disgorge their acquisitions. But no imagination can figure a situation, which

only sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds a-year; and it is surprising, that, while the queen's demands were so moderate, and her expenses so well regulated, she should ever have found any difficulty in obtaining a supply from parliament, or be reduced to make sale of the crown-lands. But such was the extreme, I had almost said, absurd parsimony of the parliaments during that period. They valued nothing in comparison of their money: The members had no connexion with the court; and the very idea, which they conceived of the trust committed to them, was, to reduce the demands of the crown, and to grant as few supplies as possible. The crown, on the other hand, conceived the parliament in no other light than as a means of supply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of seldom summoning parliaments⁶⁶. No redress of grievances was expected from these assemblies: They were supposed to meet for no other purpose than to impose taxes.

BEFORE the reign of Elizabeth, the English princes had usually recourse to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was so low, that, besides paying the high interest of ten or twelve per cent, they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security.

will induce our creditors to relinquish their claims, or the public to seize their revenues. So egregious indeed has been our folly, that we have even lost all title to compassion, in the numberless calamities that are waiting us.

⁶⁶ Strype, vol. iv. p. 124.

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Sir Thomas Gresham, that great and enterprising merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and as the money was regularly re-paid, her credit by degrees established itself in the city, and she shook off this dependence on foreigners⁶⁷.

IN the year 1559, however, the queen employed Gresham to borrow for her two hundred thousand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coin, which was at that time extremely debased⁶⁸. She was so impolitic as to make, herself, an innovation in the coin; by dividing a pound of silver into sixty-two shillings, instead of sixty, the former standard. This is the last time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

Commerce.

QUEEN Elizabeth, sensible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was desirous to encourage commerce and navigation: But as her monopolies tended to extinguish all domestic industry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, the general train of her conduct was ill calculated to serve the purpose at which she aimed, much less to promote the riches of her people. The exclusive companies also were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet notwithstanding these discouragements, the spirit of

⁶⁷ Stowe's Survey of London, book i. p. 286.

⁶⁸ MS. of lord Royston's, from the paper office, p. 295.

the age was strongly bent on naval enterprizes; and besides the military expeditions against the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new discoveries, and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened by the English. Sir Martin Frobisher undertook three fruitless voyages to discover the north-west passage: Davis, not discouraged by this ill success, made a new attempt, when he discovered the straits, which pass by his name. In the year 1600, the queen granted the first patent to the East-India company: The stock of that company was seventy-two thousand pounds; and they fitted out four ships, under the command of James Lancaster, for this new branch of trade. The adventure was successful; and the ships, returning with a rich cargo, encouraged the company to continue the commerce.

THE communication with Muscovy had been opened in queen Mary's time by the discovery of the passage to Archangel: But the commerce to that country did not begin to be carried on to a great extent till about the year 1569. The queen obtained from the Czar an exclusive patent to the English for the whole trade of Muscovy⁶⁹; and she entered into a personal, as well as national, alliance with him. This Czar was named John Basilides, a furious tyrant, who, continually suspecting the revolt of his subjects, stipulated to have a safe retreat and protection in England,

⁶⁹ Camden, p. 408.

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THE English, encouraged by the privileges, which they had obtained from Basilides, ventured farther into those countries, than any Europeans had formerly done. They transported their goods along the river Dwina in boats made of one entire tree, which they towed and rowed up the stream as far as Walogda. Thence they carried their commodities seven days journey by land to Yeraslau, and then down the Volga to Astracan. At Astracan, they built ships, crossed the Caspian Sea, and distributed their manufactures into Persia. But this bold attempt met with such discouragements, that it was never renewed ⁷¹.

AFTER the death of John Basilides, his son Theodore revoked the patent, which the English enjoyed for a monopoly of the Russian trade: When the queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers, that princes must carry an indifferent hand, as well between their subjects as between foreigners; and not convert trade, which, by the laws of nations, ought to

⁷⁰ Camden, p. 493.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 418.

be common to all, into a monopoly for the private gain of a few ⁷². So much juster notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian, than appear in the conduct of the renowned queen Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued some privileges to the English, on account of their being the discoverers of the communication between Europe and his country.

THE trade to Turkey commenced about the year 1583; and that commerce was immediately confined to a company by queen Elizabeth. Before that time, the grand signior had always conceived England to be a dependent province of France ⁷³; but having heard of the queen's power and reputation, he gave a good reception to the English, and even granted them larger privileges than he had given to the French.

THE merchants of the Hanse-towns complained loudly in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign of the treatment, which they had received in the reigns of Edward and Mary. She prudently replied, that, as she would not innovate any thing, she would still protect them in the immunities and privileges, of which she found them possessed. This answer not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of the English merchants, who tried what they could themselves effect for promoting their commerce. They took the whole trade into their own hands; and their

⁷² Camden, p. 493. ⁷³ Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 36.

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returns proving successful, they divided themselves into staplers and merchant-adventurers; the former residing constantly at one place, the latter trying their fortunes in other towns and states abroad with cloth and other manufactures. This success so enraged the Hanse-towns, that they tried all the methods, which a discontented people could devise, to draw upon the English merchants the ill opinion of other nations and states. They prevailed so far as to obtain an Imperial edict, by which the English were prohibited all commerce in the empire: The queen, by way of retaliation, retained sixty of their ships, which had been seized in the river Tagus with contraband goods of the Spaniards. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as desiring to have compromised all differences with those trading cities; but when she was informed, that a general assembly was held at Lubec, in order to concert measures for distressing the English trade, she caused the ships and cargoes to be confiscated: Only two of them were released to carry home the news, and to inform these states, that she had the greatest contempt imaginable for all their proceedings ⁷⁴.

HENRY VIII. in order to fit out a navy, was obliged to hire ships from Hamburgh, Lubec, Dantzick, Genoa, and Venice: But Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put affairs upon a better footing; both by building some ships of her own,

⁷⁴ Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 470.

and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading vessels, which, on occasion, were converted into ships of war ⁷⁵. In the year 1582, the seamen in England were found to be fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five men ⁷⁶; the number of vessels twelve hundred and thirty-two; of which there were only two hundred and seventeen above eighty tons. Monson pretends, that, though navigation decayed in the first years of James I. by the practice of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms ⁷⁷, yet before the year 1640, this number of seamen was tripled in England ⁷⁸.

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THE navy, which the queen left at her decease, appears considerable, when we reflect only on the number of vessels, which were forty-two: But when we consider that none of these ships carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ships of a thousand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons; and that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was seven hundred and seventy-four ⁷⁹; we must entertain a contemptible idea of the English navy, compared to the force which it has now attained ⁸⁰. In the year 1588, there were not above five vessels, fitted out by

Military
force.

⁷⁵ Camden, p. 388.

⁷⁶ Monson, p. 256.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 300.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 210. 256.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 196. The English navy at present carries about 14,000 guns.

⁸⁰ See note [Z] at the end of the volume.

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the noblemen and sea-ports, which exceeded two hundred tons⁸¹.

IN the year 1599, an alarm was given of an invasion by the Spaniards; and the queen equipped a fleet and levied an army in a fortnight to oppose them. Nothing gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this sudden armament. In the year 1575, all the militia in the kingdom were computed at a hundred and eighty-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine⁸². A distribution was made, in the year 1595, of a hundred and forty thousand men, besides those which Wales could supply⁸³. These armies were formidable by their numbers; but their discipline and experience were not proportionate. Small bodies from Dunkirk and Newport frequently ran over, and plundered the east coast: So unfit was the militia, as it was then constituted, for the defence of the kingdom. The lord lieutenants were first appointed to the counties in this reign.

MR. MURDEN⁸⁴ has published from the Salisbury collections a paper, which contains the military force of the nation at the time of the Spanish Armada, and which is somewhat different from the account given by our ordinary historians. It makes all the able-bodied men of the kingdom amount to a hundred and eleven thousand five

⁸¹ Monfon, p. 300. ⁸² Lives of the Admirals, vol. i, p. 432. ⁸³ Strype, vol. iv. p. 221. ⁸⁴ p. 608.

hundred and thirteen; those armed, to eighty thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; of whom forty-four thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven were trained. It must be supposed that these able-bodied men consisted of such only as were registered, otherwise the small number is not to be accounted for. Yet Sir Edward⁸⁵ Coke said in the house of commons, that he was employed about the same time, together with Popham, chief justice, to take a survey of all the people of England, and that they found them to be 900,000 of all sorts. This number, by the ordinary rules of computation, supposes that there were above 200,000 men able to bear arms. Yet even this number is surprisingly small. Can we suppose that the kingdom is six or seven times more populous at present? And that Murden's was the real number of men, excluding catholics and children and infirm persons?

HARRISON says, that in the musters taken in the years 1574 and 1575, the men fit for service amounted to 1,172,674; yet was it believed that a full third was omitted. Such uncertainty and contradiction are there in all these accounts. Notwithstanding the greatness of this number, the same author complains much of the decay of populousness: A vulgar complaint in all places and all ages. Guicciardini makes the inhabitants of England in this reign amount to two millions.

WHATEVER opinion we may form of the

⁸⁵ Journ. 25 April, 1621.

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comparative populousness of England in different periods, it must be allowed, that, abstracting from the national debt, there is a prodigious increase of power, in that, more perhaps than in any other European state, since the beginning of the last century. It would be no paradox to affirm, that Ireland alone could at present exert a greater force than all the three kingdoms were capable of at the death of queen Elizabeth. And we might go farther, and assert, that one good county in England is able to make, at least to support, a greater effort than the whole kingdom was capable of in the reign of Harry V; when the maintenance of a garrison in a small town, like Calais, formed more than a third of the ordinary national expense. Such are the effects of liberty, industry, and good government!

THE state of the English manufactures was at this time very low; and foreign wares of almost all kinds had the preference⁸⁶. About the year 1590, there were in London four persons only rated in the subsidy-books so high as four hundred pounds⁸⁷. This computation is not indeed to be deemed an exact estimate of their wealth. In 1567, there were found on inquiry to be four thousand eight hundred and fifty-one strangers of all nations in London: Of whom three thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight were Flemings, and only fifty-eight Scots⁸⁸. The persecutions in

⁸⁶ D'Ewes, p. 505. ⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 497.

⁸⁸ Haynes, p. 461, 462.

France and the Low Countries drove afterwards a greater number of foreigners into England; and the commerce, as well as manufactures of that kingdom, was very much improved by them⁸⁹. It was then that Sir Thomas Gresham built, at his own charge, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange for the reception of the merchants: The queen visited it, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

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By a lucky accident in language, which has a great effect on men's ideas, the invidious word, usury, which formerly meant the taking of any interest for money, came now to express only the taking of exorbitant and illegal interest. An act, passed in 1571, violently condemns all usury; but permits ten per cent, interest to be paid. Henry IV. of France reduced interest to $6\frac{2}{7}$ per cent: An indication of the great advance of France above England in commerce.

DR. HOWELL says⁹⁰ that queen Elizabeth in the third of her reign was presented with a pair of black silk knit stockings by her silkwoman, and never wore cloth-hose any more. The author of the present State of England, says that about 1577, pocket - watches were first brought into England from Germany. They are thought to have been invented at Nuremberg. About 1580, the use of coaches was introduced by the earl of Arundel⁹¹. Before that time, the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain.

⁸⁹ Stowe, p. 668. ⁹⁰ History of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.

⁹¹ Anderson, vol. i, p. 421.

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CAMDEN says, that in 1581, Randolph, so much employed by the queen in foreign embassies, possessed the office of post-master general of England. It appears therefore, that posts were then established; though from Charles I.'s regulations in 1635, it would seem, that few post-houses were erected before that time.

IN a remonstrance of the Hanse Towns to the diet of the empire in 1582, it is affirmed that England exported annually about 200,000 pieces of cloth⁹². This number seems to be much exaggerated.

IN the fifth of this reign was enacted the first law for the relief of the poor.

A JUDICIOUS author of that age confirms the vulgar observation, that the kingdom was depopulating from the increase of enclosures and decay of tillage; and he ascribes the reason very justly to the restraints put on the exportation of corn; while full liberty was allowed to export all the produce of pasturage, such as wool, hides, leather, tallow, &c. These prohibitions of exportation were derived from the prerogative, and were very injudicious. The queen, once, on the commencement of her reign, had tried a contrary practice, and with good success. From the same author we learn, that the complaints, renewed in our time, were then very common, concerning the high prices of every thing⁹³.

⁹² Anderson, vol. i. p. 424.

⁹³ A compendious or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen. The author says, that in 20 or 30 years before 1581, commodities had in

There seems, indeed, to have been two periods, in which prices rose remarkably in England, namely, that in queen Elizabeth's reign, when they are computed to have doubled, and that in the present age. Between the two, there seems to have been a stagnation. It would appear that industry, during that intermediate period, increased as fast as gold and silver, and kept commodities nearly at a par with money. Appendix
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THERE were two attempts made in this reign to settle colonies in America; one by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, another by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia: But neither of these projects proved successful. All those noble settlements were made in the following reigns. The current species of the kingdom, in the end of this reign, is computed at four millions⁹⁴.

THE earl of Leicester desired Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, to provide him with a riding master in that country, to whom he promises a hundred pounds a-year, beside maintaining himself and servant and a couple of horses. "I know," adds the earl, "that such a man as I want may receive higher wages in France: But let him consider, that a shilling

general risen 50 per cent; some more. Cannot your neighbour, remember, says he, that, within these 30 years, I could in this town buy the best pig or goose I could lay my hands on for four-pence, which now costeth twelve pence, a good capon for three pence? or four pence, a chicken for a penny, a hen for two-pence? p. 35. Yet the price of ordinary labor was then eight-pence a day, p. 31. ⁹⁴ Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 475.

Appendix III. "in England goes as far as two shillings in
"France". It is known that every thing is
much changed since that time.

Manners. THE nobility in this age still supported, in
some degree, the ancient magnificence in their
hospitality, and in the numbers of their retainers;
and the queen found it prudent to retrench, by
proclamation, their expenses in this last particular⁹⁶.
The expense of hospitality, she somewhat en-
couraged, by the frequent visits she paid her
nobility, and the sumptuous feasts, which she
received from them⁹⁷. The earl of Leicester gave
her an entertainment in Kenilworth Castle, which
was extraordinary for expense and magnificence.
Among other particulars, we are told, that three
hundred and sixty-five hogheads of beer were

⁹⁵ Digges's complete Ambassador. ⁹⁶ Strype, vol. iii.
Append. p. 54.

⁹⁷ Harrison, after enumerating the queen's palaces,
adds: "But what shall I need to take upon me to repeat
"all, and tell what houses the queen's majesty hath? Sith
"all is hers; and when it pleaseth her in the summer
"season to recreate herself abroad, and view the estate
"of the country, and hear the complaints of her poor
"commons, injured by her unjust officers or their substi-
"tutes, every nobleman's house is her palace, where she
"continueth during pleasure, and till she return again
"to some of her own, in which she remaineth, so long
"as she pleaseth." Book ii. chap. xv. Surely one may
say of such a guest, what Cicero says to Atticus, on occasion
of a visit paid him by Cæsar. *Hospes tamen non is cui
diceres, amabo te, eodem ad me cum revertère.* Lib. xiii.
Ep. 52. If she relieved the people from oppressions (to
whom it seems the law could give no relief) her visits were
a great oppression on the nobility.

drunk at it ⁹⁸. The earl had fortified this castle at great expence; and it contained arms for ten thousand men ⁹⁹. The earl of Derby had a family consisting of two hundred and forty servants ¹⁰⁰. Stowe remarks it as a singular proof of beneficence in this nobleman, that he was contented with his rent from his tenants, and exacted not any extraordinary services from them: A proof that the great power of the sovereign (what was almost unavoidable) had very generally countenanced the nobility in tyrannizing over the people. Burleigh, though he was frugal, and had no paternal estate, kept a family consisting of a hundred servants ¹⁰¹. He had a standing table for gentlemen, and two other tables for persons of meaner condition, which were always served alike, whether he were in town or in the country. About his person he had people of great distinction, insomuch that he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers who had each a thousand pounds a-year; and as many among his ordinary servants, who were worth from a thousand pounds to three, five, ten, and twenty thousand pounds ¹⁰². It is to be remarked, that, though the revenues of the crown were at that time very small, the ministers and courtiers sometimes found means, by employing the boundless prerogative, to acquire greater fortunes than it is possible for them at present to amass,

⁹⁸ Biogr. Brit. vol. iii. p. 1791. ⁹⁹ Strype, vol. iii. p. 394.

¹⁰⁰ Stowe, p. 674. ¹⁰¹ Strype, vol. iii. p. 129. Append.

¹⁰² Life of Burleigh, published by Collins.

Appendix from their larger salaries, and more limited au-
 III. thority.

BURLEIGH entertained the queen twelve several times in his country house; where she remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each visit cost him two or three thousand pounds¹⁰³. The quantity of silver plate possessed by this nobleman, is surprising: No less than fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds weight¹⁰⁴; which, besides the fashion, would be above forty-two thousand pounds sterling in value. Yet Burleigh left only 4000 pounds a-year in land, and 11,000 pounds in money; and as land was then commonly sold at ten years purchase, his plate was nearly equal to all the rest of his fortune. It appears, that little value was then put upon the fashion of the plate, which probably was but rude: The weight was chiefly considered¹⁰⁵.

BUT though there were preserved great remains of the ancient customs, the nobility were by degrees, acquiring a taste for elegant luxury; and many edifices, in particular, were built by them, neat, large, and sumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, says Camden¹⁰⁶; but to the no less decay of the glorious hospitality of the nation. It is, however, more reasonable to think, that this new turn of expense promoted arts and industry; while the ancient hospitality

¹⁰³ Collins, p. 40. ¹⁰⁴ See note [AA] at the end of the vol.

¹⁰⁵ This appears from Burleigh's will: He specifies only the number of ounces to be given to each legatee, and appoints a goldsmith to see it weighed out to them, without making any distinction of the pieces. ¹⁰⁶ Page 452.

was the source of vice, disorder, sedition, and idleness¹⁰⁷. Appendix
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AMONG the other species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age; and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation¹⁰⁸. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, or more desirous of making impression on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or studied more the variety and richness of her dresses. She appeared almost every day in a different habit; and tried all the several modes, by which she hoped to render herself agreeable. She was also so fond of her clothes, that she never could part with any of them; and at her death she had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thousand, which she had ever worn in her lifetime¹⁰⁹.

THE retrenchment of the ancient hospitality, and the diminution of retainers, were favorable to the prerogative of the sovereign; and by disabling the great noblemen from resistance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of justice. There were many peculiar causes in the situation and character of Henry VII which augmented the authority of the crown: Most of these causes

¹⁰⁷ See note [BB] at the end of the volume.

¹⁰⁸ Camden, p. 452. ¹⁰⁹ Carte, vol. iii. p. 702,
from Beaumont's Dispatches. F f 4

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concurrent in succeeding princes; together with the factions in religion, and the acquisition of the supremacy, a most important article of prerogative: But the manners of the age were a general cause, which operated during this whole period, and which continually tended to diminish the riches, and still more the influence, of the aristocracy, anciently so formidable to the crown. The habits of luxury dissipated the immense fortunes of the ancient barons; and as the new methods of expense gave subsistence to mechanics and merchants, who lived in an independent manner on the fruits of their own industry, a nobleman, instead of that unlimited ascendant, which he was wont to assume over those who were maintained at his board, or subsisted by salaries conferred on them, retained only that moderate influence, which customers have over tradesmen, and which can never be dangerous to civil government. The landed proprietors also, having a greater demand for money than for men, endeavoured to turn their lands to the best account with regard to profit, and either enclosing their fields, or joining many small farms into a few large ones, dismissed those useless hands, which formerly were always at their call in every attempt to subvert the government, or oppose a neighbouring baron. By all these means the cities increased; the middle rank of men began to be rich and powerful; the prince, who, in effect, was the same with the law, was implicitly obeyed; and though the farther progress of the same causes begat a new plan of liberty, founded

on the privileges of the commons, yet in the interval between the fall of the nobles and the rise of this order, the sovereign took advantage of the present situation, and assumed an authority almost absolute.

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WHATEVER may be commonly imagined, from the authority of lord Bacon, and from that of Harrington, and later authors, the laws of Henry VII. contributed very little towards the great revolution, which happened about this period in the English constitution. The practice of breaking entails, by a fine and recovery, had been introduced in the preceding reigns; and this prince only gave indirectly a legal sanction to the practice, by reforming some abuses which attended it. But the settled authority, which he acquired to the crown, enabled the sovereign to encroach on the separate jurisdictions of the barons, and produced a more general and regular execution of the laws. The counties palatine underwent the same fate as the feudal powers; and by a statute of Henry VIII¹¹⁰, the jurisdiction of these counties was annexed to the crown, and all writs were ordained to run in the king's name. But the change of manners was the chief cause of the secret revolution of government, and subverted the power of the barons. There appear still in this reign some remains of the ancient slavery of the boors and peasants¹¹¹, but none afterwards.

LEARNING, on its revival, was held in high Learning.
estimation by the English princes and nobles; and

¹¹⁰ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 24. ¹¹¹ Rymer, tom. xv. p. 731.

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as it was not yet prostituted by being too common, even the Great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature. The four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may, on one account or other, be admitted into the class of authors. Queen Catherine Parr translated a book: Lady Jane Gray, considering her age, and her sex, and her station, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Sir Thomas Smith was raised from being professor in Cambridge, first to be ambassador to France, then secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and among others those of Burleigh himself, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the ladies of the court valued themselves on knowledge: Lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two sisters, were mistresses of the ancient, as well as modern languages; and placed more pride in their erudition than in their rank and quality.

QUEEN Elizabeth wrote and translated several books; and she was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue¹¹². It is pretended, that she made an extemporary reply in Greek to the university of Cambridge, who had addressed her in that language. It is certain, that she answered in Latin without premeditation, and in a very spirited manner, to the Polish ambassador, who had been wanting in respect to her. When she had finished, she turned about to her courtiers, and said, "God's death, my

¹¹² See note [CC] at the end of the volume.

“ lords, ” (for she was much addicted to swearing) Appendix
 “ I have been forced this day to scour up my III.
 “ old Latin, that hath long lain rusting ¹¹³. ”

Elizabeth, even after she was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author; and next to her desire of admiration for beauty, this seems to have been the chief object of her vanity. She translated Boethius of the Consolation of Philosophy; in order, as she pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV.’s change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth’s compositions, we may pronounce, that, notwithstanding her application, and her excellent parts, her taste in literature was but indifferent: She was much inferior to her successor in this particular, who was himself no perfect model of eloquence.

UNHAPPILY for literature, at least for the learned of this age, the queen’s vanity lay more in shining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality. Spencer himself, the finest English writer of his age, was long neglected; and after the death of Sir Philip Sydney, his patron, was allowed to die almost for want. This poet contains great beauties, a sweet and harmonious versification, easy elocution, a fine imagination: Yet does the perusal of his work become so tedious, that one never finishes it from the mere pleasure which it affords: It soon becomes a kind of task-reading; and it requires some effort and resolution to carry us on to the

¹¹³ Speed.

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end of his long performance. This effect, of which every one is conscious, is usually ascribed to the change of manners: But manners have more changed since Homer's age; and yet that poet remains still the favorite of every reader of taste and judgment. Homer copied true natural manners, which, however rough or uncultivated, will always form an agreeable and interesting picture: But the pencil of the English poet was employed in drawing the affectations, and conceits, and fopperies of chivalry, which appear ridiculous as soon as they lose the recommendation of the mode. The tediousness of continued allegory, and that too seldom striking or ingenious has also contributed to render the *Fairy Queen* peculiarly tiresome; not to mention the too great frequency of its descriptions, and the languor of its stanza. Upon the whole, Spencer maintains his place in the shelves among our English classics: But he is seldom seen on the table; and there is scarcely any one, if he dares to be ingenuous, but will confess, that, notwithstanding all the merit of the poet, he affords an entertainment with which the palate is soon fatiated. Several writers of late have amused themselves in copying the style of Spencer; and no imitation has been so indifferent as not to bear a great resemblance to the original: His manner is so peculiar, that it is almost impossible not to transfer some of it into the copy.

N O T E S
T O T H E
S E V E N T H V O L U M E.

NOTE [A], p. 25.

BY Murden's State papers, published after the writing of this history, it appears, that an agreement had been made between Elizabeth and the regent for the delivering up of Mary to him. The queen afterwards sent down Killigrew to the earl of Marre when regent, offering to put Mary into his hands. Killigrew was instructed to take good security from the regent, that that queen should be tried for her crimes, and that the sentence should be executed upon her. It appears that Marre rejected the offer; because we hear no more of it.

NOTE [B], p. 27.

SIR James Melvil, p. 108, 109. ascribes to Elizabeth a positive design of animating the Scotch factions against each other; but his evidence is too inconsiderable to counterbalance many other authorities, and is, indeed, contrary to her subsequent conduct, as well as her interest, and the necessity of her situation. It was plainly her interest, that the king's party should prevail, and nothing could have engaged her to stop their progress, or even forbear openly assisting them, but her intention of still amusing the queen of Scots, by the hopes of being peaceably restored to her throne. See farther Strype, vol. ii. Append. p. 20.

NOTE [C], p. 123.

THAT the queen's negotiations for marrying the duke

of Anjou were not feigned nor political, appears clearly from many circumstances; particularly from a passage in Dr. Forbes's manuscript collections, at present in the possession of lord Royston. She there enjoins Walsingham, before he opens the treaty, to examine the person of the duke; and as that prince had lately recovered from the small pox, she desires her ambassador to consider, whether he yet retained so much of his good looks, as that a woman could fix her affections on him. Had she not been in earnest, and had she only meant to amuse the public or the court of France, this circumstance was of no moment.

NOTE [D], p. 151.

D'EWES, p. 328. The puritanical sect had indeed gone so far, that a book of discipline was secretly subscribed by above five hundred clergymen; and the presbyterian government thereby established in the midst of the church, notwithstanding the rigor of the prelates and of the high commission. So impossible is it by penal statutes, however severe, to suppress all religious innovation. See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 483. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 291.

NOTE [E], p. 154.

THIS year, the earl of Northumberland, brother to the earl beheaded some years before, had been engaged in a conspiracy with lord Paget for the deliverance of the queen of Scots. He was thrown into the Tower; and being conscious that his guilt could be proved upon him, at least, that sentence would infallibly be pronounced against him, he freed himself from farther prosecution by a voluntary death. He shot himself in the breast with a pistol. About the same time, the earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, having entered into some exceptionable measures, and reflecting on the unhappy fate, which had attended his family, endeavoured to depart secretly beyond

sea, but was discovered and thrown into the Tower. In 1587 this nobleman was brought to his trial for high treason; chiefly because he had dropped some expressions of affection to the Spaniards, and had affirmed that he would have masses said for the success of the Armada. His peers found him guilty of treason: This severe sentence was not executed; but Arundel never recovered his liberty. He died a prisoner in 1595. He carried his religious austerities so far, that they were believed the immediate cause of his death.

NOTE [F], p. 173.

MARY's extreme animosity against Elizabeth may easily be conceived, and it broke out, about this time, in an incident, which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in custody by the earl of Shrewsbury, she lived during a long time in great intimacy with the countess; but that lady entertaining a jealousy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendship was converted into enmity; and Mary took a method of revenge, which at once gratified her spite against the countess and that against Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen informing her of all the malicious scandalous stories, which, she said, the countess of Shrewsbury had reported of her: That Elizabeth had given a promise of marriage to a certain person, whom she afterwards often admitted to her bed: That she had been equally indulgent to Simier, the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou: That Hatton was also one of her paramours, who was even disgusted with her excessive love and fondness: That though she was on other occasions avaricious to the last degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, she spared no expence in gratifying her amorous passions: That notwithstanding her licentious amours, she was not made like other women; and all those who courted her marriage would in the end be disappointed: That she was so conceited of her beauty, as to swallow the most extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could

not, on these occasions, forbear even sneering at her for her folly: That it was usual for them to tell her, that the lustre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the sun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye: She added, that the countess had said, that Mary's best policy would be to engage her son to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that such a proposal would be taken for mockery: So ridiculous was the opinion which she had entertained of her own charms. She pretended, that the countess had represented her as no less odious in her temper than profligate in her manners, and absurd in her vanity: That she had so beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore as to break that lady's finger; and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended, that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candlestick: That she had cut an other across the hand with a knife, who had been so unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the countess had informed her, that Elizabeth had suborned Rolstone to pretend friendship to her, in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival. See Murden's State Papers, p. 558. This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conspiracy; and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings against her the more rigorous. How far all these imputations against Elizabeth can be credited, may perhaps appear doubtful; But her extreme fondness for Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious passages between her and admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chastity very much to be suspected. Her self-conceit with regard to beauty, we know from other undoubted authority, to have been extravagant. Even when she was a very old woman, she allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her *excellent beauties*. Birch, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. Her passionate temper may also be proved from many lively instances; and it was not unusual with her to beat her maids of honor. See the Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 38. The blow she gave to Essex
before

before the privy-council is another instance. There remains in the Musæum a letter of the earl of Huntington's, in which he complains grievously of the queen's pinching his wife very forely, on account of some quarrel between them. Had this princess been born in a private station, she would not have been very amiable: But her absolute authority, at the same time that it gave an uncontrouling swing to her violent passions, enabled her to compensate her infirmities by many great and signal virtues.

NOTE [G], p. 189.

CAMDEN, p. 525. This evidence was that of Curle, her secretary, whom she allowed to be a very honest man; and who, as well as Nau, had given proofs of his integrity, by keeping so long such important secrets, from whose discovery he could have reaped the greatest profit. Mary, after all, thought, that she had so little reason to complain of Curle's evidence, that she took care to have him paid a considerable sum by her will, which she wrote the day before her death. Goodall, vol. i. p. 413. Neither did she forget Nau, though less satisfied in other respects with his conduct. Id. *ibid.*

NOTE [H], p. 189.

THE detail of this conspiracy is to be found in a letter of the queen of Scots to Charles Paget, her great confident. This letter is dated the 20th of May 1586, and is contained in Dr. Forbes's manuscript collections, at present in the possession of lord Royston. It is a copy attested by Curle, Mary's secretary, and indorsed by lord Burleigh. What proves its authenticity beyond question is that we find in Murden's Collection, p. 516, that Mary actually wrote that very day a letter to Charles Paget: And farther, she mentions, in the manuscript letter, a letter of Charles Paget's of the 10th of April: Now

we find by Murden, p. 506, that Charles Paget did actually write her a letter of that date.

THIS violence of spirit is very consistent with Mary's character. Her maternal affection was too weak to oppose the gratification of her passions, particularly her pride, her ambition, and her bigotry. Her son, having made some fruitless attempts to associate her with him in the title, and having found the scheme impracticable, on account of the prejudices of his protestant subjects, at last desisted from that design, and entered into an alliance with England, without comprehending his mother. She was in such a rage at this undutiful behaviour, as she imagined it, that she wrote to queen Elizabeth, that she no longer cared what became of him or herself in the world; the greatest satisfaction she could have before her death was to see him and all his adherents become a signal example of tyranny, ingratitude and impiety, and undergo the vengeance of God for their wickedness. She would find in Christendom other heirs, and doubted not to put her inheritance in such hands as would retain the firmest hold of it. She cared not, after taking this revenge, what became of her body: The quickest death would then be the most agreeable to her. And she assured her, that, if he persevered, she would disown him for her son, would give him her malediction, would disinherit him, as well of his present possessions as of all he could expect by her; abandoning him not only to her subjects to treat him as they had done her, but to all strangers to subdue and conquer him. It was in vain to employ menaces against her: The fear of death or other misfortune would never induce her to make one step or pronounce one syllable beyond what she had determined: She would rather perish with honor, in maintaining the dignity, to which God had raised her, than degrade herself by the least pusillanimity, or act what was unworthy of her station and of her race. Murden, p. 566, 567.

JAMES said to Courcelles, the French ambassador, that he had seen a letter under her own hand, in which she

threatened to disinherit him, and said that he might betake him to the lordship of Darnley: For that was all he had by his father. *Courcelles' Letter, a MS. of Dr. Campbell's.* There is in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 573, a letter of her's where she throws out the same menace against him.

WE find this scheme of seizing the king of Scots, and delivering him into the hands of the pope or the king of Spain, proposed by Morgan to Mary. See Murden, p. 525. A mother must be very violent to whom one would dare to make such a proposal: But it seems she assented to it. Was not such a woman very capable of murdering her husband, who had so grievously offended her?

NOTE [I], p. 191.

THE volume of State Papers collected by Mr. Murden, prove beyond controversy, that Mary was long in close correspondence with Babington, p. 513. 516. 532, 533. She entertained a like correspondence with Ballard, Morgan, and Charles Paget, and laid a scheme with them for an insurrection, and for the invasion of England by Spain, p. 528. 531. The same papers show, that there had been a discontinuance of Babington's correspondence, agreeably to Camden's narration. See State Papers, p. 513. where Morgan recommends it to queen Mary to renew her correspondence with Babington. These circumstances prove, that no weight can be laid on Mary's denial of guilt, and that her correspondence with Babington contained particulars, which could not be avowed.

NOTE [K], p. 192.

THERE are three suppositions, by which the letter to Babington may be accounted for, without allowing Mary's concurrence in the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth. The first is, that which she seems herself to have embraced, that her secretaries had received Babington's letter, and had, without any treacherous intention, ven-

tured of themselves to answer it, and had never communicated the matter to her: But it is utterly improbable, if not impossible, that a princess of so much sense and spirit should, in an affair of that importance, be so treated by her servants who lived in the house with her, and who had every moment an opportunity of communicating the secret to her. If the conspiracy failed, they must expect to suffer the severest punishment from the court of England; if it succeeded, the lightest punishment, which they could hope for from their own mistress, must be disgrace, on account of their temerity. Not to mention, that Mary's concurrence was in some degree requisite for effecting the design of her escape: It was proposed to attack her guards, while she was employed in hunting: She must therefore concert the time and place with the conspirators. The second supposition is, that these two secretaries were previously traitors; and being gained by Walsingham, had made such a reply in their mistress's cipher, as might involve her in the guilt of the conspiracy. But these two men had lived long with the queen of Scots, had been entirely trusted by her, and had never fallen under suspicion either with her or her partisans. Camden informs us, that Curle afterwards claimed a reward from Walsingham on pretence of some promise; but Walsingham told him, that he owed him no reward, and that he had made no discoveries on his examination, which were not known with certainty from other quarters. The third supposition is, that neither the queen nor the two secretaries, Nau and Curle, ever saw Babington's letter, or made any answer; but that Walsingham, having deciphered the former, forged a reply. But this supposition implies the falsehood of the whole story, told by Camden, of Gifford's access to the queen of Scots' family, and Paulet's refusal to concur in allowing his servants to be bribed. Not to mention, that as Nau's and Curle's evidence must, on this supposition, have been extorted by violence and terror, they would necessarily have been engaged, for their own justification, to have told

the truth afterwards; especially upon the accession of James. But Camden informs us, that Nau, even after that event, persisted still in his testimony.

WE must also consider, that the two last suppositions imply such a monstrous criminal conduct in Walsingham, and consequently in Elizabeth (for the matter could be no secret to her) as exceeds all credibility. If we consider the situation of things and the prejudices of the times, Mary's consent to Babington's conspiracy appears much more natural and probable. She believed Elizabeth to be an usurper and a heretic: She regarded her as a personal and a violent enemy: She knew that schemes for assassinating heretics were very familiar in that age, and generally approved of by the court of Rome and the zealous catholics: Her own liberty and sovereignty were connected with the success of this enterprise: And it cannot appear strange, that where men of so much merit as Babington could be engaged, by bigotry alone, in so criminal an enterprise, Mary who was actuated by the same motive, joined to so many others, should have given her consent to a scheme projected by her friends. We may be previously certain, that, if such a scheme was ever communicated to her, with any probability of success, she would assent to it: And it served the purpose of Walsingham and the English ministry to facilitate the communication of these schemes, as soon as they had gotten an expedient for intercepting her answer, and detecting the conspiracy. Now Walsingham's knowledge of the matter is a supposition necessary to account for the letter delivered to Babington.

AS to the not punishing of Nau and Curle by Elizabeth, it never is the practice to punish lesser criminals, who had given evidence against the principal.

BUT what ought to induce us to reject these three suppositions, is, that they must, all of them, be considered as bare possibilities: The partisans of Mary can give no reason for preferring one to the other: Not the slightest evidence ever appeared to support any one of them: Neither at that time, nor at any time afterwards, was any

reason discovered, by the numerous zealots at home and abroad who had embraced Mary's defence, to lead us to the belief of any of these three suppositions; and even her apologists at present seem not to have fixed on any choice among these supposed possibilities. The positive proof of two very credible witnesses, supported by the other very strong circumstances, still remains unimpeached. Babington, who had an extreme interest to have communication with the queen of Scots, believed he had found a means of correspondence with her, and had received an answer from her: He, as well as the other conspirators, died in that belief: There has not occurred, since that time, the least argument to prove that they were mistaken: Can there be any reason at present to doubt the truth of their opinion? Camden, though a profest apologist for Mary, is constrained to tell the story in such a manner as evidently supposes her guilt. Such was the impossibility of finding any other consistent account, even by a man of parts, who was a contemporary!

IN this light might the question have appeared even during Mary's trial. But what now puts her guilt beyond all controversy is the following passage of her letter to Thomas Morgan, dated the 27th of July 1586. "As to Babington, he hath both kindly and honestly offered himself and all his means to be employed any way I would. Whereupon I hope to have satisfied him by two of my several letters, since I had his; and the rather, for that I opened him the way, whereby I received his with your afore said." Murden, p. 533. Babington confessed, that he had offered her to assassinate the queen: It appears by this, that she had accepted the offer: So that all the suppositions of Walsingham's forgery, or the temerity or treachery of her secretaries, fall to the ground.

NOTE [L], p. 198.

THIS parliament granted the queen a supply of a subsidy and two fifteenths. They adjourned, and met again

after the execution of the queen of Scots; when there passed some remarkable incidents, which it may be proper not to omit. We shall give them in the words of Sir Simon D'Ewes, p. 410, 411, which are almost wholly transcribed from Townshend's Journal. On Monday the 27th of February, Mr. Cope, first using some speeches touching the necessity of a learned ministry and the amendment of things amiss in the ecclesiastical estate, offered to the house a bill and a book written; the bill containing a petition, that it might be enacted, that all laws now in force touching ecclesiastical government should be void: And that it might be enacted that that book of common prayer now offered, and none other, might be received into the church to be used. The book contained the form of prayer and administration of the sacraments, with divers rites and ceremonies to be used in the church; and he desired that the book might be read. Whereupon Mr. Speaker in effect used this speech: For that her majesty before this time had commanded the house not to meddle with this matter, and that her majesty had promised to take order in those causes, he doubted not but to the good satisfaction of all her people, he desired that it would please them to spare the reading of it. Notwithstanding the house desired the reading of it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker desired the clerk to read. And the court being ready to read it, Mr. Dalton made a motion against the reading of it; saying, that it was not meet to be read, and it did appoint a new form of administration of the sacraments and ceremonies of the church, to the discredit of the book of common prayer and of the whole state; and thought that this dealing would bring her majesty's indignation against the house, thus to enterprise this dealing with those things which her majesty especially had taken into her own charge and direction. Whereupon Mr. Lewkenor spake, showing the necessity of preaching and of learned ministry, and thought it very fit that the petition and book should be read. To this purpose spake Mr. Hurleston and Mr. Bainbrigg; and so, the time being passed,

the house broke up, and neither the petition nor book read. This done, her majesty sent to Mr. Speaker, as well for this petition and book, as for that other petition and book for the like effect, that was delivered the last session of parliament, which Mr. Speaker sent to her majesty. On Tuesday the 28th of February, her majesty sent for Mr. Speaker, by occasion whereof the house did not sit. On Wednesday the first day of March, Mr. Wentworth delivered to Mr. Speaker certain articles, which contained questions touching the liberties of the house, and to some of which he was to answer, and desired they might be read. Mr. Speaker desired him to spare his motion, until her majesty's pleasure was further known touching the petition and book lately delivered into the house; but Mr. Wentworth would not be so satisfied, but required his articles might be read. Mr. Wentworth introduced his queries by lamenting, that he as well as many others were deterred from speaking, by their want of knowledge and experience in the liberties of the house; and the queries were as follow: Whether this council were not a place for any member of the same here assembled, freely and without controulment of any person or danger of laws, by bill or speech to utter any of the griefs of this commonwealth whatsoever, touching the service of God, the safety of the prince and this noble realm. Whether that great honor may be done unto God, and benefit and service unto the prince and state, without free speech in this council that may be done with it? Whether there be any council which can make, add, or diminish from the laws of the realm but only this council of parliament? Whether it be not against the orders of this council to make any secret or matter of weight, which is here in hand, known to the prince or any other, concerning the high service of God, prince or state, without the consent of the house? Whether the speaker or any other may interrupt any member of this council in his speech used in this house tending to any of the forenamed services? Whether the speaker may rise when he will, any matter

being propounded, without consent of the house or not? Whether the speaker may over-rule the house in any matter or cause there in question, or whether he is to be ruled or over-ruled in any matter or not? Whether the prince and state can continue, and stand, and be maintained, without this council of parliament, not altering the government of the state? At the end of these questions, says Sir Simon D'Ewes, I found set down this short note or memorial ensuing: By which it may be perceived, both what serjeant Puckering, the speaker, did with the said questions after he had received them, and what became also of this business, viz. "These questions Mr. Puckering pocketed up and showed Sir Thomas Henage, who so handled the matter, that Mr. Wentworth went to the Tower, and the questions not at all moved. Mr. Buckler of Essex herein brake his faith in forsaking the matter, &c. and no more was done." After setting down, continues Sir Simon D'Ewes, the said business of Mr. Wentworth in the original journal book, there follows only this short conclusion of the day itself, viz. "This day, Mr. Speaker being sent for to the queen's majesty, the house departed." On Thursday the second of March, Mr. Cope, Mr. Lewkenor, Mr. Hurlston, and Mr. Bainbrigg were sent for to my lord chancellor and by divers of the privy council, and from thence were sent to the Tower. On Saturday, the fourth day of March, Sir John Higham made a motion to this house, for that divers good and necessary members thereof were taken from them, that it would please them to be humble petitioners to her majesty for the restitution of them again to the house. To which speeches Mr. Vice-chamberlain answered, that if the gentlemen were committed for matter within the compass of the privilege of this house, then there might be a petition; but if not, then we should give occasion to her majesty's farther displeasure: And therefore advised to stay until they heard more, which could not be long: And farther, he said touching the book and the petition, her majesty had, for divers good

causes best known to herself, thought fit to suppress the same, without any farther examination thereof; and yet thought it very unfit for her majesty to give any account of her doings. — But whatsoever Mr. Vice-chamberlain pretended, it is most probable these members were committed for intermeddling with matters touching the church, which her majesty had often inhibited, and which had caused so much disputation and so many meetings between the two houses the last parliament.

THIS is all we find of the matter in Sir Simon D'Ewes and Townshend; and it appears that those members, who had been committed, were detained in custody till the queen thought proper to release them. These questions of Mr. Wentworth are curious; because they contain some faint dawn of the present English constitution; though suddenly eclipsed by the arbitrary government of Elizabeth. Wentworth was indeed, by his puritanism, as well as his love of liberty (for these two characters of such unequal merit, arose and advanced together) the true forerunner of the Hamdens, the Pym, and the Hollises, who, in the next age, with less courage, because with less danger, rendered their principles so triumphant. I shall only ask, whether it be not sufficiently clear from all these transactions, that in the two succeeding reigns it was the people who encroached upon the sovereign; not the sovereign, who attempted, as is pretended to usurp upon the people?

NOTE [M], p. 245.

THE queen's speech in the camp of Tilbury was in these words: My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery; but assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and

good will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn, that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: To which, rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant general shall be in my stead; than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

NOTE [N], p. 254.

STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 525. On the fourth of September, soon after the dispersion of the Spanish Armada, died the earl of Leicester, the queen's great, but unworthy, favorite. Her affection for him continued to the last. He had discovered no conduct in any of his military enterprises; and was suspected of cowardice: Yet she intrusted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spanish invasion; a partiality, which might have proved fatal to her, had the duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England. She had even ordered a commission to be drawn for him, constituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland;

but Burleigh and Hatton represented to her the danger of intrusting such unlimited authority in the hands of any subject, and prevented the execution of that design. No wonder, that a conduct, so unlike the usual jealousy of Elizabeth, gave reason to suspect, that her partiality was founded on some other passion than friendship. But Elizabeth seemed to carry her affection to Leicester no farther than the grave: She ordered his goods to be disposed of at a public sale, in order to reimburse herself of some debt which he owed her; and her usual attention to money was observed to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceased. This earl was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the strictest religion, an encourager of the puritans, and a founder of hospitals.

NOTE [O], p. 254.

STRYPE, vol. iii. p. 542. Id. append. p. 239. There are some singular passages in this last speech, which may be worth taking notice of; especially as they came from a member who was no courtier: For he argues against the subsidy. “And first,” says he, “for the *necessity* thereof, I cannot deny, but if it were a charge imposed upon us by her majesty’s commandment, or a demand proceeding from her majesty by way of request, that I think there is not one among us all, either so disobedient a subject in regard of our duty, or so unthankful a man in respect of the inestimable benefits which, by her or from her, we have received, which would not with frank consent, both of voice and heart, most willingly submit himself thereunto, without any unreverend inquiry into the causes thereof. For it is continually in the mouth of us all, that our lands, goods, and lives are at our prince’s disposing. And it agreeth very well with that position of the civil law, which sayeth, *Quod omnia regis sunt*. But how? *Ita tamen ut omnium sint*. *Ad regem enim potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos proprietas*. So that although it be most

“ true, that her majesty hath over ourselves and our goods,
 “ *poteſtatem imperandi*; yet it is true, that until that
 “ power command (which, no doubt, will not command
 “ without very juſt cauſe) every ſubject hath his own
 “ *proprietaſtem poſſidendi*. Which power and command-
 “ ment from her majesty, which we have not yet receiv-
 “ ed, I take it (ſaving reformation) that we are freed
 “ from the cauſe of *neceſſity*. And the cauſe of neceſſity,
 “ is the dangerous eſtate of the commonwealth, &c.”
 The tenor of the ſpeech pleads rather for a general bene-
 volence than a ſubſidy: For the law of Richard III. againſt
 benevolence was never conceived to have any force.
 The member even proceeds to aſſert, with ſome precaution,
 that it was in the power of a parliament to reſuſe the
 king’s demand of a ſubſidy. And that there was an in-
 ſtance of that liberty in Henry III.’s time, near four hun-
 dred years before. *Sub fine*.

NOTE [P], p. 257.

WE may judge of the extent and importance of theſe
 abuſes by a ſpeech of Bacon’s againſt purveyors, delivered
 in the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt parliament of the ſubſequent
 reign, by which alſo we may learn that Elizabeth had given
 no redreſs to the grievances complained of. “ Firſt,”
 ſays he, “ they take in kind what they ought not to take;
 “ ſecondly, they take in quantity a far greater proportion
 “ than cometh to your majesty’s uſe; thirdly, they take
 “ in an unlawful manner, in a manner, I ſay, directly
 “ and expreſsly prohibited by the ſeveral laws. For the
 “ firſt, I am a little to alter their name: For inſtead of
 “ takers, they become taxers: Inſtead of taking proviſions
 “ for your majesty’s ſervice, they tax your people *ad*
 “ *redimendam vexationem*; impoſing upon them and ex-
 “ torting from them divers ſums of money ſometimes in
 “ groſs, ſometimes in the nature of ſtipends annually paid, *ne*
 “ *noceant*, to be freed and eaſed of their oppreſſion.
 “ Again, they take trees, which by law they cannot do;

“ timber trees, which are the beauty, countenance and shel-
“ ter of men’s houses; that men have long spared from their
“ own purse and profit; that men esteem, for their use and
“ delight, above ten times the value; that are a loss which
“ men cannot repair or recover. These, do they take,
“ to the defacing and spoiling of your subjects’ mansions
“ and dwellings, except they may be compounded with
“ to their own appetites. And if a gentleman be too
“ hard for them while he is at home, they will watch
“ their time when there is but a bailiff or a servant remain-
“ ing, and put the ax to the root of the tree, ere ever
“ the master can stop it. Again, they use a strange and
“ most unjust exaction in causing the subjects to pay pound-
“ age of their own debts, due from your majesty unto
“ them: So as a poor man, when he has had his hay
“ or his wood, or his poultry (which perchance he was
“ full loath to part with, and had for the provision of
“ his own family, and not to put to sale) taken from
“ him, and that not at a just price, but under the value,
“ and cometh to receive his money, he shall have after
“ the rate of twelve pence in the pound abated for pound-
“ age of his due payment upon so hard conditions. Nay
“ farther, they are grown to that extremity (as is affirm-
“ ed, though it be scarce credible, save that in such
“ persons all things are credible) that they will take dou-
“ ble poundage, once when the debenture is made, and
“ again the second time, when the money is paid. For
“ the second point, most gracious sovereign, touching
“ the quantity which they take far above that which is
“ answered to your majesty’s use; it is affirmed unto me
“ by divers gentlemen of good report, as a matter which
“ I may safely avouch unto your majesty, that there is
“ no pound profit, which redoundeth unto your majesty
“ in this course, but induceth and begetteth three pound
“ damage upon your subjects, beside the discontentment.
“ And to the end they may make their spoil more securely,
“ what do they? Whereas divers statutes do strictly pro-
“ vide, that whatsoever they take shall be registered and

“ attested , to the end that by making a collation of that
 “ which is taken from the country and that which is
 “ answered above , their deceits might appear , they , to
 “ the end to obscure their deceits , utterly omit the ob-
 “ servation of this , which the law prescribeth. And there-
 “ fore to descend , if it may please your majesty , to the
 “ third sort of abuse , which is of the unlawful manner
 “ of their taking , whereof this question is a branch ; it
 “ is so manifold , as it rather asketh an enumeration of
 “ some of the particulars than a prosecution of all. For
 “ their price , by law they ought to take as they can
 “ agree with the subject ; by abuse , they take at an im-
 “ posed and enforced price : By law they ought to make
 “ but one apprizement by neighbours in the country ; by
 “ abuse , they make a second apprizement at the court-
 “ gate , and when the subjects cattle come up many miles
 “ lean and out of plight by reason of their travel , then
 “ they prize them a-new at an abated price : By law , they
 “ ought to take between sun and sun ; by abuse , they
 “ take by twilight and in the night-time , a time well
 “ chosen for malefactors : By law , they ought not to take
 “ in the high-ways (a place by her majesty’s high prero-
 “ gative protected , and by statute by special words ex-
 “ cepted) ; by abuse , they take in the highways : By
 “ law , they ought to show their commission , &c. A
 “ number of other particulars there are , &c. ” Bacon’s
 works , vol. iv. p. 305 , 306.

SUCH were the abuses , which Elizabeth would neither
 permit her parliaments to meddle with , nor redress herself.
 I believe it will readily be allowed , that this slight prero-
 gative alone , which has passed almost unobserved amidst
 other branches of so much greater importance , was suf-
 ficient to extinguish all regular liberty. For what elector,
 or member of parliament , or even juryman , durst oppose
 the will of the court , while he lay under the lash of
 such an arbitrary prerogative ? For a farther account of
 the grievous and incredible oppressions of purveyors , see
 the Journals of the house of commons , vol. i. p. 190.

There is a story of a carter, which may be worth mentioning on this occasion. "A carter had three times been at Windsor with his cart to carry away, upon summons of a remove, some part of the stuff of her majesty's wardrobe; and when he had repaired thither once, twice, and the third time, and that they of the wardrobe had told him the third time that the remove held not, the carter, clapping his hand on his thigh, said, *Now I see, that the queen is a woman as well as my wife.* Which words being overheard by her majesty, who then stood at the window, she said, *What a villain is this?* and so sent him three angels to stop his mouth." Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 155.

NOTE [Q], p. 272.

THIS year the nation suffered a great loss, by the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state; a man equally celebrated for his abilities and his integrity. He had passed through many employments, had been very frugal in his expence, yet died so poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, first married to Sir Philip Sydney, then to the earl of Essex, favorite of queen Elizabeth, and lastly to the earl of Clanricarde of Ireland. The same year died Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in several embassies to Scotland; as did also the earl of Warwic, elder brother to Leicester.

NOTE [R], p. 276.

THIS action of Sir Richard Greenville is so singular, as to merit a more particular relation. He was engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail, which had ten thousand men on board; and from the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day next morning, he repulsed the enemy fifteen times, though they continually shifted their vessels,
and

and boarded with fresh men. In the beginning of the action he himself received a wound; but he continued doing his duty above deck till eleven at night, when receiving a fresh wound, he was carried down to be dressed. During this operation he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon was killed by his side. The English began now to want powder; all their small arms were broken or become useless; of this number, which were but a hundred and three at first, forty were killed, and almost all the rest wounded; their masts were beat overboard, their tackle cut in pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other. In this situation Sir Richard proposed to the ship's company, to trust to the mercy of God, not to that of the Spaniards, and to destroy the ship with themselves, rather than yield to the enemy. The master gunner, and many of the seamen, agreed to this desperate resolution; but others opposed it, and obliged Greenville to surrender himself prisoner. He died a few days after; and his last words were: "Here die I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honor: My soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do." The Spaniards lost in this sharp though unequal action, four ships, and about a thousand men. And Greenville's vessel perished soon after, with two hundred Spaniards in her. Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii. part 2. p. 169. Camden, p. 565.

NOTE [S], p. 306.

IT is usual for the speaker to disqualify himself for the office; but the reasons employed by this speaker are so singular, that they may be worth transcribing. "My estate," said he, "is nothing correspondent for the maintenance of this dignity: For my father dying left

“ me a younger brother; and nothing to me but my bare
 “ annuity. Then growing to man’s estate and some small
 “ practice of the law, I took a wife, by whom I have
 “ had many children; the keeping of us all being a great
 “ empoverishing to my estate, and the daily living of us
 “ all nothing but my daily industry. Neither from my
 “ person nor my nature doth this choice arise: For he
 “ that supplieth this place ought to be a man big and
 “ comely, stately and well spoken, his voice great, his
 “ carriage majestic, his nature haughty, and his purse
 “ plentiful and heavy: But contrarily, the stature of my
 “ body is small, myself not so well-spoken, my voice
 “ low, my carriage lawyer-like, and of the common
 “ fashion, my nature soft and bashful, my purse thin,
 “ light, and never yet plentiful. — If *Demosthenes*,
 “ being so learned and eloquent as he was, one whom
 “ none surpassed, trembled to speak before *Phocion* at
 “ *Athens*; how much more shall I, being unlearned and
 “ unskilful to supply the place of dignity, charge, and
 “ trouble, to speak before so many *Phocions* as here be?
 “ Yea, which is the greatest, before the unspeakable
 “ majesty and sacred personage of our dread and dear
 “ sovereign: The terror of whose countenance will appal
 “ and abase even the stoutest hearts; yea, whose very
 “ name will pull down the greatest courage. For how
 “ mightily do the estate and name of a prince deject the
 “ haughtiest stomach even of their greatest subjects?”
 D’Ewes, p. 459.

NOTE [T], p. 315.

C A B A L A, p. 234. Birch’s Memoirs, vol. ii. p.
 386. Speed, p. 877. The whole letter of Essex is so
 curious and so spirited, that the reader may not be dis-
 pleased to read it. “ My very good lord; Though there
 “ is not that man this day living, whom I would sooner
 “ make judge of any question that might concern me
 “ than yourself, yet you must give me leave to tell you,

“ that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly judges: And if any, then surely in this, when the highest judge on earth has imposed on me the heaviest punishment without trial or hearing. Since then I must either answer your lordship’s argument or else forsake mine own just defence, I will force mine aching head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontent, which was forced, to be an humorous discontent; and that it was unseasonable or is of so long continuing, your lordship should rather condole with me than expostulate: Natural seasons are expected here below; but violent and unreasonable storms come from above: There is no tempest equal to the passionate indignation of a prince; nor yet at any time so unseasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect a harvest of their careful and painful labors. He that is once wounded, must needs feel smart, till his hurt is cured, or the part hurt become senseless: But cure I expect none, her majesty’s heart being obdurate against me; and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But, say you, I may aim at the end: I do more than aim; for I see an end of all my fortunes, I have set an end to all my desires. In this course do I any thing for my enemies? When I was at court, I found them absolute; and, therefore, I had rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I could yield them no fruit of my love unto them; and now, that I am a hermit, they shall bear no envy for their love towards me. Or do I forsake myself, because I do enjoy myself? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I ruinate mine honor, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false badge or mark of the shadow of honor? Do I give courage or comfort to the foreign foe, because I reserve myself to encounter with him? Or because I keep my heart from business,

“ though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No
 “ no, my good lord, I give every one of these considerations
 “ its due weight; and the more I weigh them, the more
 “ I find myself justified from offending in any of them.
 “ As for the two last objections, that I forsake my country,
 “ when it hath most need of me, and fail in that indif-
 “ soluble duty which I owe to my sovereign; I answer,
 “ that if my country had at this time any need of my
 “ public service, her majesty that governeth it, would
 “ not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to
 “ my country by two bonds; one public, to discharge
 “ carefully and industriously that trust which is committed
 “ to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life
 “ and carcase, which hath been nourished in it. Of the
 “ first I am free, being dismissed, discharged, and dis-
 “ abled by her majesty: Of the other, nothing can free
 “ me but death; and therefore no occasion of my per-
 “ formance shall sooner offer itself but I shall meet it half
 “ way. The indissoluble duty which I owe unto her ma-
 “ jesty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I never
 “ have, nor never can fail in: The duty of attendance,
 “ is no indissoluble duty. I owe her majesty the duty of
 “ an earl and of lord marshal of England. I have been
 “ content to do her majesty the service of a clerk; but I
 “ can never serve her as a villain or slave. But yet you
 “ say I must give way unto the time. So I do; for now
 “ that I see the storm come, I have put myself into the
 “ harbour. *Seneca* sayeth, we must give way to Fortune:
 “ I know that Fortune is both blind and strong, and
 “ therefore I go as far as I can out of her way. You
 “ say the remedy is not to strive: I neither strive nor
 “ seek for remedy. But, you say, I must yield and
 “ submit: I can neither yield myself to be guilty, nor
 “ allow the imputation laid upon me to be just: I owe
 “ so much to the Author of all truth, as I can never
 “ yield truth to be falsehood, nor falsehood, to be truth.
 “ Have I given cause, you ask; and yet take a scandal
 “ when I have done? No: I gave no cause, not so much

“ as *Fimbria*’s complaint against me; for I did *totum*
 “ *telum corpore recipere*: Receive the whole sword into
 “ my body. I patiently bear all, and sensibly feel all
 “ that I then received, when this scandal was given me.
 “ Nay more, when the vilest of all indignities are done
 “ unto me,” &c. This noble letter, Bacon afterwards,
 in pleading against Essex, called bold and presumptuous,
 and derogatory to her majesty. Birch’s Memoirs, vol. ii.
 p. 388.

NOTE [V], p. 351.

MOST of queen Elizabeth’s courtiers feigned love
 and desire towards her, and addressed themselves to her
 in the style of passion and gallantry. Sir Walter Raleigh,
 having fallen into disgrace, wrote the following letter to
 his friend Sir Robert Cecil, with a view, no doubt, of
 having it shown to the queen. “ My heart was never
 “ broke till this day, that I hear the queen goes away
 “ so far off, whom I have followed so many years, with
 “ so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and
 “ am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone.
 “ While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of
 “ her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the
 “ less; but even now my heart is cast into the depth of
 “ all misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like
 “ *Alexander*, hunting like *Diana*, walking like *Venus*,
 “ the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure
 “ cheeks, like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade
 “ like a Goddess, sometimes singing like an Angel, some-
 “ times playing like *Orpheus*; behold the sorrow of this
 “ world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all. O glory
 “ that only shineth in misfortune, what is become of
 “ thy assurance? All wounds have scars but that of
 “ fantasy: All affections their relenting but that of
 “ womankind. Who is the judge of friendship but
 “ adversity, or when is grace witnessed but in offences?
 “ There were no divinity but by reason of compassion:

“ For revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times
 “ past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires,
 “ cannot they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot
 “ one drop of gall be hid in so great heaps of sweetness?
 “ I may then conclude, *Spes & fortuna, valete.*
 “ She is gone in whom I trusted; and of me hath not
 “ one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that which
 “ was. Do with me now therefore what you list. I
 “ am more weary of life than they are desirous I
 “ should perish; which, if it had been for her, as it
 “ is by her, I had been too happily born.” *Murden*,
 657. It is to be remarked, that this Nymph, Venus,
 Goddess, Angel, was then about sixty. Yet five or
 six years after, she allowed the same language to be
 held to her. Sir Henry Unton, her ambassador in France,
 relates to her a conversation which he had with Henry IV.
 The monarch, after having introduced Unton to his mis-
 tress, the fair Gabrielle, asked him how he liked her.
 “ I answered sparingly in her praise,” said the minister,
 “ and told him, that if, without offence, I might speak
 “ it, I had the picture of a far more excellent mistress,
 “ and yet did her picture come far short of her perfec-
 “ tion of beauty. As you love me, said he, show it
 “ me, if you have it about you. I made some diffi-
 “ culties; yet upon his importunity offered it to his view
 “ very secretly, holding it still in my hand: He beheld
 “ it with passion and admiration, saying, that I had rea-
 “ son, *Je me rends*, protesting, that he had never seen
 “ the like; so, with great reverence, he kissed it twice
 “ or thrice, I detaining it still in my hand. In the
 “ end, with some kind of contention, he took it from
 “ me, vowing, that I might take my leave of it: For he
 “ would not forego it for any treasure: And that to pos-
 “ sess the favor of the lively picture, he would forsake
 “ all the world, and hold himself most happy; with many
 “ other most passionate speeches.” *Murden*, p. 718.
 For farther particulars on this head, see the ingenious

author of the Catalogue of royal and noble Authors, article *Essex*.

NOTE [X], p. 378.

IT may not be amiss to subjoin some passages of these speeches; which may serve to give us a just idea of the government of that age, and of the political principles, which prevailed during the reign of Elizabeth. Mr. Laurence Hyde proposed a bill, entitled, An act for the explanation of the common law in certain cases of letters patent. Mr. Spicer said, This bill may touch the prerogative royal, which, as I learned the last parliament, is so transcendent, that the — of the subject may not aspire thereunto. Far be it therefore from me, that the state and prerogative royal of the prince should be tied by me, or by the act of any other subject. Mr. Francis Bacon said, As to the prerogative-royal of the prince, for my own part, I ever allowed of it; and it is such as I hope will never be discussed. The queen, as she is our sovereign, hath both an enlarging and restraining power. For by her prerogative she may set at liberty things restrained by statute-law or otherwise, and secondly, by her prerogative she may restrain things which be at liberty. For the first, she may grant a *non obstante* contrary to the penal laws. — With regard to monopolies and such like cases, the case hath ever been to humble ourselves unto her majesty, and by petition desire to have our grievances remedied, especially when the remedy toucheth her so nigh in point of prerogative — I say, and I say it again, that we ought not to deal, to judge, or meddle with her majesty's prerogative. I wish therefore every man to be careful of this business. Dr. Bennet said, He that goeth about to debate her majesty's prerogative had need to walk warily. Mr. Laurence Hyde said, For the bill itself, I made it, and I think I understand it: And far be it from this heart of mine to think, this tongue to speak, or this hand to write any thing either in prejudice or derogation of her

majesty's prerogative-royal and the state. — Mr. Speaker, quoth Serjeant Harris, for ought I see, the house moveth to have this bill in the nature of a petition. It must then begin with more humiliation. And truly, Sir, the bill is good of itself, but the penning of it is somewhat out of course. Mr. Montague said, The matter is good and honest, and I like this manner of proceeding by bill well enough in this matter. The grievances are great, and I would note only unto you thus much, that the last parliament we proceeded by way of petition, which had no successful effect. Mr. Francis More said, I know the queen's prerogative is a thing curious to be dealt withal: yet all grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my tongue or conceive with my heart the great grievances that the town and country, for which I serve, suffereth by some of these monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a private hand, and the end of all this is beggary and bondage to the subjects. We have a law for the true and faithful currying of leather: There is a patent sets all at liberty, notwithstanding that statute. And to what purpose is it to do any thing by act of parliament, when the queen will undo the same by her prerogative? Out of the spirit of humiliation, Mr. Speaker, I do speak it, there is no act of her's that hath been or is more derogatory to her own majesty, more odious to the subject, more dangerous to the commonwealth than the granting of these monopolies. Mr. Martin said, I do speak for a town that grieves and pines, for a country that groaneth and languisheth under the burthen of monstrous and unconscionable substitutes to the monopolitans of starch; tin, fish, cloth, oil, vinegar, salt, and I know not what; nay, what not? The principallest commodities both of my town and country are engrossed into the hands of these blood-suckers of the commonwealth. If a body, Mr. Speaker, being let blood, be left still languishing without any remedy, how can the good estate of that body still remain? Such is the state of my town and country; the traffic is taken away, the inward and private commodities are taken away, and dare

not be used without the licence of these monopolitans. If these blood-suckers be still let alone to suck up the best and principallest commodities, which the earth there hath given us, what will become of us, from whom the fruits of our own soil and the commodities of our own labor, which with the sweat of our brows, even up to the knees in mire and dirt, we have labored for, shall be taken by warrant of supreme authority, which the poor subject dare not gainsay? Mr. George Moore said, We know the power of her majesty cannot be restrained by any act: why therefore should we thus talk? Admit we should make this statute with a *non obstante*; yet the queen may grant a patent with a *non obstante*, to cross this *non obstante*. I think therefore it agreeth more with the gravity and wisdom of this house to proceed with all humbleness by petition than bill. Mr. Downland said, As I would be no let or over-vehement in any thing, so I am not fottish or senseless of the common grievance of the commonwealth. If we proceed by way of petition, we can have no more gracious answer, than we had the last parliament to our petition. But since that parliament, we have no reformation. Sir Robert Wroth said, I speak, and I speak it boldly, these patentees are worse than ever they were. Mr. Hayward Townshend proposed, that they should make suit to her majesty, not only to repeal all monopolies grievous to the subject, but also that it would please her majesty to give the parliament leave to make an act that they might be of no more force, validity, or effect, than they are at the common law, without the strength of her prerogative. Which though we might now do, and the act being so reasonable, we might assure ourselves her majesty would not delay the passing thereof, yet we, her loving subjects, &c. would not offer without her privy and consent (the cause so nearly touching her prerogative) or go about to do any such act.

ON a subsequent day, the bill against monopolies was again introduced, and Mr. Spicer said, It is to no purpose to offer to tie her majesty's hands by act of parlia-

ment, when she may loosen herself at her pleasure. Mr. Davies said, God hath given that power to absolute princes, which he attributes to himself. *Dixi quod Dii estis.* (N. B. This axiom he applies to the kings of England.) Mr. secretary Cecil said, I am servant to the queen, and before I would speak and give consent to a case that should debase her prerogative, or abridge it, I would wish that my tongue were cut out of my head, I am sure there were law-makers before there were laws: (Meaning, I suppose, that the sovereign was above the laws.) One gentleman went about to possess us, with the execution of the law in an ancient record of 5 or 7 of Edward the third. Likely enough to be true in that time, when the king was afraid of the subject. If you stand upon law, and dispute of the prerogative, hark ye what Bracton says, *Prærogativam nostram nemo audeat disputare.* And for my own part, I like not these courses should be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, should perform the charge her majesty gave unto you, in the beginning of this parliament, not to receive bills of this nature: For her majesty's ears be open to all grievances, and her hands stretched out to every man's petitions. — When the prince dispenses with a penal law, that is left to the alteration of sovereignty, that is good and irrevocable. Mr. Montague said, I am loth to speak what I know, lest, perhaps, I should displease. The prerogative-royal is that which is now in question, and which the laws of the land have ever allowed and maintained. Let us therefore apply by petition to her majesty.

AFTER the speaker told the house that the queen had annulled many of the patents, Mr. Francis More said, I must confess, Mr. Speaker I moved the house both the last parliament and this, touching this point; but I never meant (and I hope the house thinketh so) to set limits and bounds to the prerogative royal. He proceeds to move, that thanks should be given to her majesty; and also, that whereas divers speeches have been moved extravagantly in the house, which doubtless have been

told her majesty, and perhaps ill conceived of by her, Mr. Speaker would apologize, and humbly crave pardon for the same. N. B. These extracts were taken by Townshend, a member of the house, who was no courtier; and the extravagance of the speeches seems rather to be on the other side: It will certainly appear strange to us that this liberty should be thought extravagant. However, the queen, notwithstanding her cajoling the house, was so ill satisfied with these proceedings, that she spoke of them peevishly in her concluding speech, and told them, that she perceived that private respects with them were privately masqued under public presence. D'Ewes, p. 619.

THERE were some other topics, in favor of prerogative, still more extravagant, advanced in the house this parliament. When the question of the subsidy was before them, Mr. Serjeant Heyle said, Mr. Speaker, I marvel much that the house should stand upon granting of a subsidy or the time of payment, when all we have is her majesty's, and she may lawfully at her pleasure take it from us: Yea, she hath as much right to all our lands and goods as to any revenue of her crown. At which all the house hemmed, and laughed and talked. Well, quoth serjeant Heyle, all your hemming shall not put me out of countenance. So Mr. Speaker stood up and said, It is a great disorder, that this house should be used —— So the said serjeant proceeded, and when he had spoken a little while the house hemmed again; and so he sat down. In his latter speech, he said, he could prove his former position by precedents in the time of Henry the third, king John, king Stephen, &c. which was the occasion of their hemming. D'Ewes, p. 633. It is observable, that Heyle was an eminent lawyer, a man of character. Winwood, vol. i. p. 290. And though the house in general showed their disapprobation, no one cared to take him down, or oppose these monstrous positions. It was also asserted this session, that in the same manner as the Roman consul was possessed of the power of rejecting or admitting motions in the senate, the speaker might either

admit or reject bills in the house. D'Ewes, p. 677. The house declared themselves against this opinion; but the very proposal of it is a proof at what a low ebb liberty was at that time in England.

IN the year 1591, the judges made a solemn decree, that England was an absolute empire, of which the king was the head. In consequence of this opinion, they determined, that even if the act of the first of Elizabeth had never been made, the king was supreme head of the church; and might have erected, by his prerogative, such a court as the ecclesiastical commission: For that he was the head of all his subjects. Now that court was plainly arbitrary: The inference is, that his power was equally absolute over the laity. See Coke's Reports, p. 5. Caudrey's case.

NOTE [Y], p. 416.

WE have remarked before that Harrison, in book ii. chap. 11. says, that in the reign of Henry VIII. there were hanged seventy-two thousand thieves and rogues (*besides other malefactors*); this makes about two thousand a year: But in queen Elizabeth's time, the same author says, there were only between three and four hundred a year hanged for theft and robbery: So much had the times mended. But in our age, there are not forty a year hanged for those crimes in all England. Yet Harrison complains of the relaxation of the laws, that there were so few such rogues punished in his time. Our vulgar prepossession, in favor of the morals of former and rude ages, is very absurd, and ill-grounded. The same author says, chap. 10. that there were computed to be 10,000 gypsies in England; a species of banditti, introduced about the reign of Henry VIII.; and he adds, that there will be no way of extirpating them, by the ordinary course of justice: The queen must employ martial law against them. That race has now almost totally disappeared in England and even in Scotland, where there were some remains of them a few years

ago. However arbitrary the exercise of martial law, in the crown, it appears, that no body in the age of Elizabeth entertained any jealousy of it.

NOTE [Z], p. 429.

HARRISON, *in his description of Britain printed in 1577, has the following passage, chap. 13.* Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful sort of ships than the queen's majesty of England at this present; and those generally are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or four of them of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home. — The queen's highness hath at this present already made and furnished to the number of one and twenty great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham road. Beside these, her grace hath others in hand also, of whom hereafter, as their turns do come about, I will not let to leave some farther remembrance. She hath likewise three notable gallies, the Speedwell, the Tryeright, and the Black Galley, with the sight whereof, and the rest of the navy-royal, it is incredible to say how marvellously her grace is delighted; and not without great cause, sith by their means her coasts are kept in quiet, and sundry foreign enemies put back, which otherwise would invade us. *After speaking of the merchant ships, which he says are commonly estimated at 17 or 18 hundred, he continues.* I add, therefore, to the end all men should understand somewhat of the *great masses of treasure*, daily employed upon our navy, how there are few of those ships of the first and second sort, (that is of the merchant ships), that being apparelled and made ready to sail, are not worth one thousand pounds or three thousand ducats at the least, if they should presently be sold. What shall we then think of the navy-royal, of which some one vessel is worth two of the other, as the shipwright has often told me.

——— It is possible that some covetous person, hearing this report, will either not credit at all, or suppose money so employed to be nothing profitable to the queen's coffers; as a good husband said once when he heard that provisions should be made for armor, wishing the queen's money to be rather laid out to some speedier return of gain unto her grace: But if he wist that the good-keeping of the sea is the safeguard of our land, he would alter his censure, and soon give over his judgment. *Speaking of the forests, this author says,* An infinite deal of wood hath been destroyed within these few years, and I dare affirm, that, if wood do go so fast to decay in the next hundred years of grace, as they have done, or are like to do in this, it is to be feared, that sea-coal will be good merchandize even in the city of London. Harrison's prophecy was fulfilled in a very few years: For about 1615, there were 200 sail employed in carrying coal to London. See Anderson, vol. i. p. 494.

NOTE [A A], p. 438.

LIFE of Burleigh published by Collins, p. 44. The author hints, that this quantity of plate was considered only as small in a man of Burleigh's rank. His words are *his plate was not above fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds*: That he means pounds weight is evident. For, by Burleigh's will, which is annexed to his life, that nobleman gives away in legacies, to friends and relations, near four thousand pounds weight, which would have been above twelve thousand pounds sterling in value. The remainder he orders to be divided into two equal portions; the half to his eldest son and heir; the other half to be divided equally among his second son and three daughters. Were we therefore to understand the whole value of his plate to be only 14 or 15,000 pounds sterling, he left not the tenth of it to the heir of his family.

NOTE [BB], p. 439.

HARRISON says, “ the greatest part of our building
 “ in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only
 “ of timber, cast over with thick clay to keep out the
 “ wind. Certes, this rude kind of building made the
 “ Spaniards in queen Mary’s days to wonder; but chiefly
 “ when they saw that large diet was used in many of these
 “ so homely cottages, insomuch that one of no small re-
 “ putation amongst them, said, after this manner; These
 “ English, quoth he, have their houses made of sticks
 “ and dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king.
 “ Whereby it appeareth, that he liked better of our good
 “ fare in such coarse cabins, than of their own thin diet
 “ in their princely habitations and palaces. The clay with
 “ which our houses are commonly impannelled is either
 “ white, red, or blue.” Book ii. chap. 12. The author
 adds, that the new houses of the nobility are commonly
 of brick or stone, and that glass windows were beginning
 to be used in England.

NOTE [CC], p. 442.

THE following are the words of Roger Ascham, the
 queen’s preceptor. “ It is your shame (I speak to you
 “ all, you young gentlemen of England), that one maid
 “ should go beyond ye all in excellency of learning and
 “ knowledge of divers tongues. Point out six of the best
 “ given gentlemen of this court, and all they together
 “ shew not so much good will, spend not so much time,
 “ bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and con-
 “ stantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge as
 “ doth the queen’s majesty herself. Yea I believe, that,
 “ besides her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French,
 “ and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more
 “ Greek every day, than some prebendary of this church
 “ doth Latin in a whole week. — Amongst all the bene-
 “ fits which God had blessed me withal, next the know-

“ ledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest,
 “ that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister
 “ in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning,” &c.
 Page 242. Truly, says Harrison, it is a rare thing with
 us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own
 language; and to say how many gentlewomen and ladies
 there are that, besides sound knowledge of the Greek and
 Latin tongues, are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish,
 Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth
 not in me; sith I am persuaded, that as the noblemen
 and gentlemen do surmount, in this behalf, so these
 come little or nothing at all behind them, for their parts;
 which industry God continue. — The stranger, that
 entereth in the court of England upon the sudden, shall
 rather imagine himself to come into some public school
 of the university, where many give ear to one that read-
 eth unto them, than into a prince's palace, if you
 confer thus with those of other nations. Description of
 Britain, book ii. chap. 15. By this account, the court
 had profited by the example of the queen: The sober
 way of life practised by the ladies of Elizabeth's court
 appears from the same author. Reading, spinning, and
 needle work occupied the elder; music the younger. Id.
 ibid.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.



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